

66.
THE
ACTIONS
OF

The Lowe Countries.

WRITTEN
By Sr. Roger Williams
KNIGHT.



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100

ACTIONS

OF

THE

COMPANY



TO THE RIGHT
HONOVABLE, SIR
Francis Bacon Knight, Lord
Chancellor of ENGLAND.

Right Honourable:

THis part of Historie, hauing
lyen a long time by mee, I
haue thought good to pub-
lish to the world; and that
especially for these reasons.
First to incite other men of
Armes to imitate in like sort their great Master
Julius Caesar, who wrote exact Commentaries
(adorned of late with obseruations of a wor-
thy man of our Nation) of such militarie ac-
tions as happened vnder his commaund. Se-
condly, to preuent least such worthy paines
should

The Epistle Dedicatory.

should either perish, or hereafter be set forth by others as their own: a thing too much practised by some, not of meanest note. Lastly, to make this a meane of drawing the residue into light, which happely sleepeeth in the custodie of some other man. This doe I presume to present to your Honour; as well in regard of the honourable estimation which still remaineth of the Authour, as for the worthinesse which I conceiue to be in the Worke. For all of vs doe well discern both the lustre of many excellent perfections in your own noble spirit, and how you fauour men of valour, learning, or honest endeavour: which vertues, as they haue aduanced you to this height of honour, so will they make your memorie eternally to flourish.

S. Stephens. 1 Ian:
1617.

Your Honours in all service,

PR: MANVVOODE



To the Reader.



Albeit in all Histories three things are especially required, Order, Poysse and Truth : yet for diuers causes it hapneth that in many, one of these doth faile.

For some haue written of times so anciently past, that no means are extant, either to direct or to correct them. Many of these liuing in Artlesse ages, haue stuffed their Stories with most senselesse fictions; nothing better then country womens tales. Of this sort was Hunibaldus, who fableth that the French tooke their originall from Francio a Troian : and is followed in his sotteries by Gregoric of Tours, Rheginus, Sigebert, and diuers others of the same suite. After this example Geoffry of Munmouth about 400 yeares since, did first (as some affirme) draw the originall of the Britans from Brutus the Troian : forging such races, names, reignes and passages of affaires, as may more easily be conuincied to be false, then supplied with any certaine truth. Of the same streine is Witikind; who by his counterfeit Saxo, hath drawen the Saxons
and

To the Reader.

and first Inhabitants of Germanie, from the olde Macedonian Souldiers of Alexander the great. So the Scots set up Scota daughter to Pharao King of Ægypt, for foundresse of their Nation. Likewise the Irish hatched their Hiberus, the Danes their Danus, the Brabants their Brabo, the Gothes their Gothus, as founders both of their Nation and name: a subiect wherein forgeries may range at large; because the first times of Nations for the most part are, as very small, so altogether obscure. Of this sort among the ancients were Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Theopompus: in whose Bookes Cicero saith, many idle vnruthes are found; euen so farre as the vaine veine of the Græcians durst aduenture to aduowe for truthes. In how many places (saith Iosephus) is Hellenicus charged with falsities by Agelilaus, and by Ephorus? they by Timæus? Timæus by many who followed? Herodotus by all?

Others haue written of Countries farre distant, either altogether unknowne, or by them neuer seene: who writing upon vulgar reports, things either imagined, or erroneously obserued, are easily entangled with vnruthes. Of this fault Eraclosthenes, Palsidonius and Patrocles the Geographer are branded by Strabo. Hence also did rise the fables of the Arimalpes, Gryphons, Troglodites, Amazons, Satyrs, Pigmies, and of their cruell warres with Cranes: of Nations of men with dogs heads, with horse feete, without heads, without mouthes, with one foote wherewith they couer themselves against Sun and raine, and of diuers other monstrous kinds of men, beasts & fowles, which now are discovered for vtopicall Aperies. With these may Stephanus & Arianus be ioyned; of whom the one writeth, that the French are a people of Italie; the other placeth the Germanes neere to the Ionick

To the Reader.

Ionick sea. So Strabo choppeth, that the riuer Ister or Danowe, hath his spring neere to the Adriaticke sea : and that the riuers Lapus and Vezer, discharge themselves into the riuer Enis ; whereas the one runneth into the Rhine, the other into the Ocean. So are Tacitus, Marcellus, Orosius, Blondus, in diuers places of Germanie much mistaken. And so Sabellicus, Volaterrane, and Conrade, doe much confound the Alans and Almans ; the Hungarians and Hunnes ; the Danes and the Dace ; Aufterane, and Austrich ; placing the mount Saint Ottoly in Bauaria, and the Riphæan mountaines in Polonia, or Muscouia.

Others haue written of their owne countries and times : but these againe are of diuers sorts. For some busie themselves much in those things which the popular multitude doe applaud : making wordie (I cannot say worthy) reports of Beare-baitings, lanching of shippes, fleas, mice, owles, masks, mayings, &c. And if they speake of any publicke affaires, they discern nothing but the out-side : not vnlike to beggars, who trauerse ouer many Countries, from dore to dore, and touch as many faire buildings ; but obserue nothing either of the persons, or furniture, or order within. Such Historians doe daily and duely attend certaine Kings in India : And whatsoever they doe, whether eate, drinke, sleepe, disport, ease nature, retyre to any woman ; In a word, All, they barely wright downe, and nothing else.

Some others better furnished with iudgement, doe strongly biasse in their affections : and that chiefly by two meanes, leuitie and partiality.

Of the first sort are they who affecting to write ra-

A

ther

To the Reader.

ther pleasingly then truly, doe enterlace many ieafts, conceits, tales, and other pleasing passages; either omitting or defacing the solide truth. Of this fault Trebellius is reprooved by Laberian and Vopiscus, Tacitus by Tertullian and Orosius, Orosius by Blondus. To these also wee may adioyne Danudes, Philostratus, Guidius, Ctesias, Hecataeus, and diuers others; who haue transformed the truth of many things into fabulous inuentions of their owne.

Of the second sort are they who upon hate, feare, or fauour, either to some persons, or to their native countrey, or to the religion which they professe, or for some other partiall respect, doe write Panegyrickes or Inuectiues, rather then Histories. So Salust writeth, that the acts of the Græcians are much admired: not because they exceede the Atchieuements of other men, but because their writers hauing wit at will, did much enlarge them about the truth. Of this fault Blondus and Sabellicus are noted in their Histories of Venice: Paulus Æmilius and Gauguine in their Histories of France: and most others in the Histories of their owne Countries. Who extoll, deprese, depraue immoderately; making things seeme not as they are, but as they would haue them; no otherwise almost then Comedies and Tragedies are fashioned by their Authours.

Amongst those fewe who haue written with knowledge, iudgement, and sincerity, the Authour of this Historie is worthy to be ranged: who doubtlesse was of endelesse industry; alwaies in action, either with his sword, or with his penne. He was well knowne to be a man, who both knew and durst: his courage no lesse free from indiscretion,

To the Reader.

cretion, then from feare. Yet hath hee wrote so modestly of himselfe, that some may happelie esteeme him rather a looker on, then a medler, in the hot medlies whereof he doth write: but his attributing so little to himselfe, will make others attribute the more vnto him. In writing of others hee expresseth a most generous disposition; neither forbearing the errours of his friends, nor forgetting the vigilancy and valoure of his enemies; but carrying himselfe with an even hand betweenthe them.

Touching the Historie it selfe, it is faithfull and free; wherein are found sieges, assaults, surprizes, ambushes, skirmishes, battailes, linely described. Great varietie both of persons and of actions; much mutability of fortune, many changes in affaires. Admirable aduices, vnexpected euents, ponderous iudgements; a phraze in a Souldiers stile, sinowie and sweet; full both of perspicuitie and grace. In a word, I esteeme it a compleate Historie, if it were compleate. I meane, if it extended to all the actions wherein the Authour did serue. But whether the residue was neuer written, or whether it bee perished, or whether it resteth in any other hand, I remaine doubtfull. This piece beeing shewed to mee, by a person, of whose vertues I had rather speake nothing, then not enough, I did much esteeme; for that it comprizeth some actions of the time wherein I haue liued: Of which time I endeauour to leaue a large memoriall to posteritie. But comming to mee in a ragged hand, much maimed, both in sense, and in phraze:

To the Reader.

*I haue restored it so neere as I could, both to the
stile and meaning of the Authour. This is all the
paines that I haue taken. This is all the shankes
which I doe either challenge or deserue.*

Io: HAYWARDE.





THE
OCCASIONS OF
THE FIRST STIRRES IN
the Lowe Countreys, the Duke
D'Aluaes first comming thither, and his surprizing of the principall of the Nobilitie, the Prince of Orange escapeth into Germanie, and Charles Mansfelt into France.



He state of *Spaine*, as I said in my discourse of their discipline, is governed by two sorts of people; Captaines and Clergie. The Captaines animate the King to warres, to maintaine their wealth and greatnesse; so doth the Clergie to maintaine their estate against them of the

religion. By these meanes, the ambition of the Duke D'Alua, of Cardinall Granuill, and their seconds, perswaded the king to vndertake to subdue the *Netherlanders* to his pleasure; to lay vpon them such gables, taxes, and all manner of tributes as should please the King to demand. But this they could neuer effect without making away their warlike and politike Nobilitie; namely, the Prince of *Orange*, the Counts of *Egmond*, of *Horne*, of

The Spanish
counsaile touching the Lowe
Countries.

Battenburgh, the Lord of *Brederode*, the Marquesse of *Bergues*, with diuers others of good qualitie. Besides, they had a great number of strong Townes, innumerable treasure and riches; the seate of the most of their Prouinces being meruailous strong by nature, by reason of their great riuers and streights, furnished plentifully with Artillerie, munition, and other necessities for warres; Also their liberties were such, that no stranger might gouerne either their Prouinces, or any of their Townes. And this grieved the Spanish not a little, that such base people as they esteemed the *Netherlanders* to be, should possesse peaceably such a braue and rich Countrie, and and their King carrie no other title than Duke, Count, and Lord ouer their seuentene Prouinces. Herevpon the King resolued to send his great Captaine Duke *D'Alua* with a mightie armie, giuing him commission to alter, place and displace whome, and as many as pleased him, as well in their prouinces in generall, as in any particular Towne. Also authoritie to execute as many as pleased him, without respect of persons. This being discourred vnto the Prince of *Orange*, from a Gentleman Burgunnian of the Kings Chamber (who was greater with one of the Kings Secretaries wiues, than with her husband) by reason of the Spanish long counsailes in their resolutions, it came in good time to the Prince long before the Dukes troupes marched from *Spaine* into *Italie*. In the meane time the Prince animated the people all hee could against the Spanish, making diuers of his assured friends acquainted with his intelligences, but durst not trust Count *Egmond*, fearing his ambition and choler would marre all: notwithstanding considering his vogue and greatnesse with the men of warre, hee durst attempt nothing

Duke *D'Alua*'s
commission.

The intelli-
gence of the
Prince of *O-
range*.

His policie.

nothing without him. Wherefore politickely the Prince fed both parties, assured the Gouvernesse the Dutchesse of *Parma*, of his loyalty towards the King and his religion, but in troth he was of the Protestant religion, fauouring them what he could vnder hand; so much, that hee and his instruments procured the people in great numbers to present supplications openly to the Gouvernesse, for the libertie of their consciences. Likewise diuers Papists and Martinists presented her with supplications, to perswade the King to stay his Duke *D'Alua* and his armies, shewing her plainly that it was against their liberty and customes, that strangers should gouerne them. In this time the Prince and his instruments animated a quarrell betwixt Count *Egmond*, and Card. *Granuill*; so as after a banquet at *Brussels*, vpon a dispute with multiplying of words, the Count tooke the Cardinall a boxe on the eare, to the Prince and his parties great ioy. This Count (as I said before) was so ambitious, that hee thought it his due to bee chiefe ouer all warlike actions, which either King or his Countrey would vndertake (I meane out of the *Netherlanders*) without comparison he deserued it. He was most valiant, most liberall, and greatly fortunate in all his actions. Amongst the rest of his actions, the chiefe praise of the battaile of *S. Quintins*, and of *Gravelin* belonged to this Count. Notwithstanding the Prince of *Orange* carried all the vogue amongst the popular, by his fine and politicke government, and wanne a number of men of qualitie, with great courtesies and affable discourses: so much that these two Chieffes being ioyned, would haue carried all the Countrey in general to haue done what they had listed. After this disgrace, the Cardinall very politickly shewed neither choler nor minde to reuenge, but rather

Cardinall
Granuill taketh
a boxe vpon
the eare.
Count *Eg-*
monds nature.

The Prince of
Oranges fauour,
popular.

The Kings
letters.

Peter Mauns-
feld; and the
Lord Barle-
monst will not
signe.

sought all meanes vnder-hand to stay the Count from proceeding further with the Prince; and both hee and the Gouvernesse procured letters from the King, with great speed to that end. In which letters were contained, that nothing should be done in the *Netherlands*, as wel by Duke *D'Alua*, as by his base sister the Gouvernesse, without the Counts consent; and to repose all trust in the Count onely for martiall affaires. The King wrote also vnto the Count, assuring him, that nothing should bee too deare for him; and that his great service should not be forgotten, but recompenced to the highest degree: Shewing him, how all these stirres proceeded from the Prince of *Orange*, and his instruments, to ouerthrow religion, and to maintaine his estate and greatnesse. Besides, they sent counterfeited letters vnto the Count, as though the Prince or his faction had certified the King often against the Count to his disgrace. Before these posts arrived, the Prince or his instruments had procured the Count, and all or most of the Nobility with a great number of quality, to meet at *Tilmount in Brabant*: where, after a great banquet, most of them signed a letter to the King, rather to dye than to suffer the gouernment to alter. This letter was written very humbly to perswade his Maiestie to stay his Duke *D'Alua*, assuring him to be loyall in all poynts: desiring his Maiesty to remember their liberties and customes, which his Maiesty was sworne to maintaine in as ample manner as his ancestors before. At this banquet all signed these letters, sauing the Count *Peter Ernest of Maunsfelt*, gouernour of *Luxembourg*, and the Lord of *Barlemount*, who politickly promised to doe the like the next morning; excusing themselves, that at that instant the wine was their master.

But

But at midnight they stole post towards *Luxembourg*, excusing themselves by letters vnto the Prince of *Orange*, that Count *Egmond* would be deboshed from them by the Spanish instruments; and that they would not be- lieue the coneray, vntill they heard that his person and men of waire were in battaile against the Spanish. It seemes *Peter Ernest* was willing to second them, for hee left his sonne Count *Charles* as deepe as the best. They had reason to feare the Count, for the next day he began to repent him of his bargaine; taking occasions to mur- mure, and to stirre factions against the Prince. But the Prince politicly courtiesied him with all fauours, in such sort, that all fell in a banquet the next dinner; at which feast, according to their custome, there was great carow- sing: where the basest sort came in great multitudes with glasses in their hands, crying to the Prince, Count, & No- bility, *Vive les gueses, vive les gueses, le diable emporte les espagnoles*: God saue the beggers, and the diuell take the Spa- niards. After ending the banquet, the Prince procured many of the Nobility and of the best sort, to promise to second him in the action he would vndertake against the Spanish. This being discovered vnto Count *Egmond*, he commanded his horses & coaches to be made ready; see- ming to bee much offended with the Prince of *Orange* and his faction, and withall departed toward *Louaine*.

Count *Egmond* repenteth.

Is pacified.

Combination of the Nobility with the Prince

Egmond offend- ed.

True it is, all murthers are villanous; but had the Prince credited Count *Charles Mansfelt*, Count *Egmond* had beene dead. I heard the Prince relate his counsaile, which was; *Let vs kill Count Egmond, then are we sure all the men of warre will follow you and yours. Also his coun- senance is such among it them, as at his reconcilment vnto the Spanish, they will al follow him. But for feare of him my father*

Charles Mansfelt counsell concerning *Egmond*.

and all the rest would ioyne with you. True it is, this young Gentleman was the wilfullest amongst them, but spake the greatest reason to maintaine the Prince of *Orange*, as it fel out afterwards: for without doubt the reconcilment of Count *Egmond*, lost himselfe and all his friends. Long afterwards in *France* I heard Count *Charles* speak this, & also how he would haue wished the Prince afterwards to haue marched with all his forces vnto the edge of *Louain*, there to haue kept the streights betwixt *Louain* & *Luxeburgh*, where Duke *D'Alua* must passe without all doubt. With the fauour of God, had the Prince & Count *Egmond* marched thither with their forces, by all reason they might haue fought with twice Duke *D'Aluaes* numbers. For there were foure thousand braue Lanciers and light horsemen vnder their charge, ready alwayes entertained; besides as many more who would haue mounted themselves most willingly, with at least twenty thousand footemen against the Spanish and the Prince, had they made away the obstinate Count. Besides, the nature of the *Neatherlanders* is to be very willing to second any nouelties; much more against a people they hated so much as the Spanish, whose forces and policies were vnknown to them at their beginning. Being as high as *Louaine*, they had bin sure all the Countries and Townes behinde them, would haue seconded them with all necessities. For the humour of the Nation is to bee vnreasonable proude with the least victorie, or aduancement with a reasonable armie, and deadly fearefull with the least ouerthrow, or at the retreit of their men of warre from their enemy. The posts being arriued with the *Gouernesse*, and Cardinall (who receiued expresse commandement from the King to dissemble his disgrace with

To take the
streights a-
gainst Duke
D'Alua,

The forces of
the *Lower Coun-
tries*.

The dispositi-
on of the *Nea-
therlanders*,

with the Count, assuring him Duke *D'Alua* should redresse all Count *Egmond* hauing receiued the Kings letters, fell cleane from the Prince vnto the Gouvernesse, and beganne to make all the faire weather he could vnto the Cardinall; thinking himselfe sure. This poore Count *Egmond* draweth all to the Spaniard, perswaded all the rest to forsake their Prince, assuring them that hee would vndertake to make all well againe with the King; in such sort, that most of the Nobilitie quited the Prince: Who fearing that the variable popular would doe the like, resolved to acquaint Count *Egmond* what the King had passed against them in his Spanish counsell; and opening his minde vnto diuers of the best sort, the Prince procured Count *Egmond*, with most of the rest to giue him audience: whose words I heard the Prince himselfe report, as followeth.

Egmond draweth all to the Spaniard.

The Prince of Orange seeketh conference with *Egmond*.

Cousins and deare Countrymen, it grieues mee to see you so blinded with the Spanish dissimulation, which is to no other end but to lull you asleepe, vntill their tyrant *D'Alua* arriues amongst vs, who hath so large a commission. And this he will not faile to execute to the vttermost; which he can neuer doe, and suffer vs to liue, especially you Count *Egmond*. And resolue your selfe that they who send him with such directions, know your courage to be too great to endure your Countrymen to be made slaues, and to suffer him to wash his hands in your kinsmens blood. Beleeue my words, it is true what I tell you; for there you see his hand, whom diuers of you know to be in good credite with the King, especially with his principall Secretary. And herewith hee cast his letter with other testimonials amongst them, telling the Count, Cousin resolue on it, if you take armes, I will ioyne with you; if not, I must leaue you and quite the Country.

His aduertisement.

After

Edmonds an-
swere,

“ After pawling a while, the Count answered. Cousin, I
 “ know the King hath not Spaniards enow to employ in
 “ all his Dominions : wherefore you must think he must be
 “ served by others more then Spaniards. You are decei-
 “ ued to iudge the King a tyrant, without prooffe of cruel-
 “ ty; he cannot be so vngratefull to recompence our serui-
 “ ces with such payments. Touching Duke *D’Alua*, if it
 “ be the Kings pleasure to make him Gouvernour of these
 “ Countries, we must obey him as we did the Duke of *Sa-
 “ moy*, and others. Touching our government, resolue your
 “ selfe, he will not, neither shall alter it more than the rest
 “ of his predecessors before him haue done. For your selfe,
 “ if it please you to stay, I dare aduēture my credit to make
 “ all wel with the King. And assure you, doth Duke *D’Alua*
 “ lay hands on you, I will not endure it. Withall he hur-
 “ led before the Prince and the rest the Kings letters;
 “ wherein was no want of dissimulation, nor of promise
 “ of forgiuēesse, onely to be assured to bring them sound
 “ asleepe, vntill Duke *D’Alua* should awake them. Here-
 “ with the Count told the Prince resolutely, that he would
 “ not quire the King. If he would not stay, it would grieue
 “ him to see his house ouerthrowne.

The Kings dis-
sembling let-
ters.

The Princes
reply.

The Prince answered. Cousin, I haue been too long
 by his Fathers chamber, and doe know the Kings hu-
 “ mors too well, and their Spanish gouernement, to con-
 “ ceiuie that they will pardō such persons as a number of vs
 “ here be, after entring into such actions as we haue done
 “ against them. Good Cousin, doe you forget how Duke
 “ *D’Alua* was wont to say vnto *Charles* the first : *Hombres*
 “ *mueritos no hazen guerra* : Dead men make no warre. For
 “ these reasons, and diuers other, farewell : I will not stay
 “ their iustice, nor trust to their courtesies. For house it
 makes

the Lowe Countries.

9

·makes no matter; I had rather be a Prince without hou-
 ses, then a Count without a head. During these treaties
 and delayes, diuers brawles and bickerings fell out in
Antwerpe, betwixt them of the religion, the *Martinists*,
 and *Papists*. Twice or thrice a weeke great numbers
 would bee in armes, sometimes before the Gouvernesse
 Court, sometimes before the Prince of *Oranges* house,
 but often or continually in places of greatest note. At-
 though the Prince was most politicke; yet his courage
 was nothing cōparable to a number of others: if it had,
 without doubt hee might haue hazarded to haue surpris-
 ed *Antwerpe*: Having done it, he might haue engaged
 the rest of the Country. For in *Gant* and in the great
 Townes was faction for Religion, especially throughout
 the most of the Villages and Countries, where was preach-
 ing & defacing of Images in many places; Infomuch,
 that the *Papists* and *Martinists* drew them of the Religi-
 on out of *Antwerpe*. Notwithstanding, they gathered
 together at a Village hard by *Antwerpe*, called *Osterwell*;
 where they preached in great numbers in such fort, that
 the Gouvernesse and all hers stood in doubt, whether it
 were best to hazard their defeat there, or to stay for
 more forces. Being cōsidered how they increased daily,
 resolution was taken to charge them where they were;
 Intelligence being brought them, that the *Papists* and
Martinists, with a number of Souldiers did talie to de-
 feat them. Notwithstanding they were voyde of any
 men of conduct, or souldiers gaged vnder ensignes, or
 Corners; and all or the most Craftesmen, Mechanicks,
 or poore peasants; yet they resolved to fight, making
 head with good courage against their enemies. But for
 want of heads to direct them, default of armes and muni-

The Prote-
 stants at *Ant-
 werpe*.

Their over-
 throw at *Oster-
 well*.

The Prince of
Orange his o-
 versight.

C

tion,

Hee openly ta-
kerh part with
the Papists.

Perswaderh the
Protestants to
quieten the.

A pitifull Cap-
taine.

tion, they were defeated in plaine field. Iudge you what they would haue done being in the Towne of *Antwerpe*, hauing with them a Prince of *Orange*, who had with him continually two or three hundred Gentlemen, diuers of charge and conduct. Besides, he was Gouvernour of the Towne, neuer without a good partie, so as the Gouvernesse and hers durst not lay hands on him; although they knew him an enemy and a fauourer of the Religion. To say truth, he cloaked it what he could; Insomuch, as all their parties being often in armes in the great places, himselfe went to the strongest, which were the *Papists* and *Martinists*: protesting to them to liue and dye with the Gouvernesh & religion. Without doubt his meaning was, touching the Gouvernesse, to be true to his Country, and to liue and dye with the Religion. For amongst them of the religion hee had diuers instruments, some of his best Gentlemen and Capitaines, who (God knowes) at that time had but little skill in warres; notwithstanding they were assured by them of his good will, in such sort that they would haue marched often against the others, but for the Princes perswasions to the contrary. Sometimes he would tell them their enemies were more in number, and in charging them they should ingage their Towne, wiues, children, and goods: assuring them, if they would goe forward, the basest sort would ransacke their houses. Since I heard the Prince say, that if hee had knowne the warres then so well, as he did since, he would haue ranged on their sides: wishing then his valiant brother Count *Lodowicke* in his place. Pitié or feare overthrew the Prince often, as I will shew hereafter. Great warriors account the pitifull Capitaine a foole in warres, and neuer cruell vntill hee masters his enemy; then hee must

must bee bloody to execute, it hee cannot liue in safetie. This order continued vntill the newes came that Duke *D'Alua* was marching : Then it was high time for the Prince to shift for himselfe. Before he arriued, the Prince was in *Germanie*. After, mooning the whole state of the Empire, except the houte of *Austria*, hee found little comfort at their hands, sauing the Count *Palatine* of the *Rheine*, and his owne house of *Nassau*. Not without meruaile; for those flegmatique people will second no body without money before hand, & assurance to be payd monethly, especially being gaged to serue the weakest partie. When they come into the field, they will endure neither hardnes nor wants without their due guilt. When they haue ioyned battaile, they haue often cryed guilt, hurled their weapons from them, and suffered their enemies to cut them in pieces. I doe perswade my selfe all Potentates and estates hyre them, onely fearing their enemies would haue them. Without doubt, if one side hath them, and not the other, likely it is master of the field ; they come in such multitudes of Horsemen, as no Christian Nation besides is able to furnish. Else perswade your selfe 500. hundred of either *English*, *Scottish*, *Burgundians*, *Wallones*, *French*, *Italians*, *Albaneses*, *Hungarians*, *Poles*, or *Spanish*, is worth 1500. *Almaines*.

The Prince of
Orange into
Germany.

Duke *D'Alua* being arriued in *Lorraine*, Count *Peter Ernest* Gouvernour of *Luxenburgh* feared him ; but like a wise politicke man, sent vnto him to offer him all seruice. Notwithstanding hee kept himselfe in his strong Townes of *Luxenburgh*, and *Tyonuill*, hauing garrisons at his deuotion : the Gouvernours and Captaines either his kinsmen or assured friends. Neither would hee suffer Duke *D'Alua* to enter those Townes, or any other vnder

Duke *D'Alua*
arriue in
Lorraine.

Count *Mans-*
felt vpon his
garde.

Duke D'Alua
courteth him.

his gouernment of any strength; except onely his owne person, with so many more as the Gouernours could dispose of at their pleasures. Duke D'Alua knowing this man to be a very expert valiant Capitaine, would not offend him, but rather pleased him all that hee might. In-
somuch as hee procured diuers fauourable letters from the King, to encourage him of their good meaning towards him; fearing otherwise that it lay in him to giue the Dutchie of *Luxenburgh* to whom hee list: which might haue beene a good present to the French King, being ioyn'd with *Mets* in *Loireine*. Duke D'Alua remained quiet in the Kings stee at *Brussels*, with some tyrannous Spaniards about him, who from the highest to the lowest gaped for the spoyle and confusion of the poore *Netherlanders*. These (God knows) at that instant were better fed then taught in marshall discipline, (except a few of their Nobility & men of war, who were all at the deuotion of Duke d'Alua, by means of the ignorance & obstinacy of Count *Egmond*, who was deceiued & lulled asleep in his vaine glory, by certaine treacherous, tyrannous and vngrateful Spaniards.) Inasmuch as they refused neither the tenth pennie, nor any other demaunds that pleased Duke d'Alua to charge vpon them. Duke d'Alua hauing interrapt the Counts of *Egmond*, and *Horne*, with diuers others of great qualitie, sent for them to counsaile. At their entrie into a chamber where he was, the great Provoost arrested them of high treason, taking from them their Rapiers and armes. You may easily iudge their sentences, when they were to be tryed by the Cardinall *Granuill* and his friends. So for the boxe on the eare and other follies, Count *Egmond* lost his head, with diuers others, and principally the men of best quality; whom

Duke D'Alua
imprileth the
chiefe of the
Nobility.

whom they feared and mistrusted to haue any vogue with the popular, or meanes to annoy them either with forces or Councell. At this instant Count *Charles Maunsfelt* had with him a vigilant politicke companion, which his father (the olde Foxe) had soysted into the seruice of Duke *D'Alua*, onely to aduertise him and his sonne of their proceedings. This espy-all ranne to *Charles* into a tennis-Court, and brought him presently into his lodging, where they mounted themselves speedily to recouer *Luxenburgh*: which they did, although Duke *D'Alua* sent diuers others on the spurre to bring them to him dead or aliue. These mist them narrowly. For they had not passed the bridge of *Namurs*, but the others were in the place within one houre. Returning to Duke *d'Alua*, he was in great choler for not intrapping Count *Charles*, and not without reason. For hauing him, he might haue held him prisoner for the better assurance of his father. Duke *d'Alua* dispatched present posts to the great Prouost of *Arden*, who was altogether at his deuotion; by reason of a Picke betwixt Count *Maunsfelt* and him. By good espy-all Count *Maunsfelt* was aduertized of their practise; which was, that the Prouost should vse all diligence and meanes to intrappe the father or the sonne. If both, hee should doe the King and him great seruice. Count *Charles* being aduertized of the match, vied all meanes possible to meet the Prouost at equall handes. This Count was rather desperate then valiant in all his quarrels; but politicke and full of wit in all his affaires. By good espy-alls he met this Prouost, hauing with him about twenty horsemen; all or the most his owne seruants. The Count had about twelue, the most or all Captaines and Scouldiers. This encounter (God knows)

Count *Charles Maunsfelt* flyeth.

Duke *D'Alua* pursueth him.

Duke *D'Alua* tracteth against Count *Maunsfelt*.

The Prouost of *Arden* the instrument.

Charles Maunsfelt meets the Prouost.

was farre against the Prouosts wil, considering the match. For most men of iudgement in thole affaires value sixe chosen men well mounted, worth twenty ramassers, as the French tearme them. The Count (as of greatest courage) beganne to speake as followeth. Master Prouost, I doe vnderstand Duke *d'Alua* commands you to bring my father or my selfe vnto him, and that you gaue your word you would doe it. All honest men ought to maintaine their words and promises, especially great Officers of qualitie like your selfe. I must confesse you ought to obey the Kings Lieuerenant, but not to make promise of more than you are able to performe. You know my father, my selfe, and you, are neighbours children; and kinsmen a farre of. Wherefore for all your small picke, you might haue vsed the Duke with lesse assurance. But to giue him and all his proude Spaniards to vnderstand that a *Netherlander* carrieth as good resolution as any *Spaniard*, and to terrifie such base fellows as thou art from the like attempt, there is for thee. And withall strooke him with a pistoll in his bosome, downe from his horse. Himselfe and his company mastering the rest, executed no more; all yeelding to his mercy. The Count told them, vpon condition that some of you will tell Duke *d'Alua* that I wished him here with his Prouost, I giue you all your liues, and leaue to goe where you list. Tell him also I am gone to the French King, and from him to the Turke, rather then to yeeld to his mercie. The Count being in *France*, was greatly fauoured & well vsed by the French King, and remained there vntill *Don Iohn d'Avstria* came into the *Low Countries*, to be Gouvernour and Capitaine Generall. As I sayd before, Count *Peter Ernest* would neuer hazard himselfe at the mercy of Duke *D'Alua*

Killeth him.

Goeth into
France.

d'Alua; notwithstanding there passed courteous letters of dissimulation betwixt them. Duke *d'Alua* all this while plaied *gloria patri*, as pleased him; thinking his worke at an end in the *Lowe Countries*; sauing the finishing of two Citadels, the one at *Antwerpe*, and the other at *Flusbing*. In the meane time, he, the Cardinal, & others perswaded the King all they might, to vnderake the conquest of *England*: thinking thereby to oppress religion in all other places. Being resolu'd both in *Spaine* and *Flanders*, he dispatched his great Captain and Marshall *Chiapine Vitelly* vnto her Maiesty, with some fained message: but by all likelyhood they had intelligence of our discontents. For immediately after *Vitellies* retreat out of *England*, the Earles of *Norshumberland*, and *Westmerland* were in armes in the North-countrie; And the Duke of *Norfolke* was charged as faulty presently after. At which time Duke *d'Alua* had ready in *Zeland* some ten regiments to imbarke for *England*. But by Gods providence our stirs were quieted before they could imbarke. Also God blinded his affaires in such sort, that hee vnderooke to finish the Cuadell of *Antwerpe*, before that of *Flusbing*, to his vndoing; as I will shew in this discourse.

*Count Lodowicks entry into Frizeland, and the defeat
of the Count of Arenbergue.*

Count Lodowicks
entry into
Frizeland.



Can speake little touching the first iourney Count Lodowick made into Frizeland; but I heard the Prince report, that Count Lodowick marched into Frizeland with some two thousand and five hundred horsemen, and seauen thousand footemen, all Germanes. And ha-

Count Aren-
burge and
Count Meguen
sent against
him.

Bracamount
master of the
Campe.

ving intelligence with the Counts of Schowenburgh, and his brother in law the Count Vanderbergue, hee tooke the Castle of Wedle, with diuers other places in Frizeland, hauing ingaged Groining. The Counts of Arenbergue and Meguen were dispatched from Duke d'Alma to stop his courses, hauing with them the master of the Campe Don Gonsalvo de Bracamount, with his Tertia of Sardinia, and some companies of Wallons, Gellois and Almans; with the two bands of Ordinance of the Counts, & about five other Cornets, Launciers, and Hergoletters, Albaneseis, and Wallons. Count Arenbergue carried the Commission, and marched before with Bracamount and other bands of footmen; giuing charge to Count Meguen to follow him speedily with the rest. Count Arenbergue being arriued within two leagues of Count Lodowick, and vnderstanding his forces, would haue staied from Count Meguen; who would haue been with him that night. The pride of Bracamount and diuers of his Spaniards was such, as valuing Lodowick

The pride and
insolency of
certaine Spa-
niards.

Lodowicke and his forces as nothing; they vrged Count *Arenbergue* with hainous words; Inſomuch that a number of the baſeſt ſort of the *Spaniards* began to call him cowardly traitour: although Count *Arenbergue* was a valiant expert Captaine, and onely would haue ſtaied for more forces. For he knew, and all the world with him, that *Lodowicke* was a moſt valiant obſtinate executioner, who alwaies directed his troupes to fight in good order; and ſo reſolutely that at an encounter with the French, he and Count *Maunſfelt* made a diſcreet valiant retireit. The Admirall and his Frenchmen being defeated, *Bracamount* and his *Spaniards* vrged the Count to approach *Lodowicke*, who was lodged in a Village by *Groning*, hauing on both ſides broad high waies, both towards *Groning* and his enemies. At the end of the lane towards the enemy there was a great heath, with three high waies entring vnto it. True it is, *Lodowickes* companions were *Germans*, but of the beſt ſort; for five hundred of his horſemen were Gentlemen that accompanied him and his brother Count *Adolfe* of *Naffau*, for good will: All his reſt were a thouſand horſemen, which he led himſelfe. Count *Arenbergue* being approached Count *Lodowickes* quarters diuided his horſemen on both ſides of his footmen, which marched in one ſquadron, conducted by *Bracamount*. Hee placed ſome five hundred ſhot before his ſquadron, the reſt on both his ſides. Count *Arenbergue* himſelfe led the right wing of the horſemen, his Lieutenant of *Frixeland* the left wing. He commanded the *Herguleters* to march before the ſorlorne ſhot of his battell on foote, and with ſome fiftie *Herguleters* to keep as nigh *Lodowickes* quarters as they could, and to keepe centinell at the entrie of the lane into the plaine. Count

Lodowicke a
braue com-
mander.

Lodowickes
forces.

The order of
the *Spaniards*.

Lodowicks order to traine out the enemy.

Lodowicks Curriers having discovered them at the *Nass*, *Lodowicke* advanced out of the Village, commanding two hundred reysters to displace *Arenbergues* Curriers, and to stand in the mouth of the streight. *Lodowick* came with all his forces, placed his Lieutenant *Henrick Vauſſan* with a Squadron of Pikes, some thirtie score in the plaine, halfe of his shot on both sides of his Squadron, advanced the two hundred reysters thirtie score before his battaile, placed his brother Count *Adolfe* with 600. Reysters on the right wing of his battaile, and so many more with one of his best Captaines on the left wing; the rest hee hid in two squadrons in both the out-lanes, leaving in the middle lane a good Squadron of pikes, with some three hundred shot in the hedges on both sides. He gaue charge to the two hundred Reysters to skirmish with all courage; gaue directions to his brother to retire softly as the enemy approached, himselfe standing with some seven hundred of the best horsemen, hidden in the right lane from the enemy; and gaue order to the other wing to run through the pikes which stood in the middlemost lane, who had directions to shift themselves over the hedge as though they were defeated. His directions were no sooner given, but *Arenbergues* Curriers and his were together by the eares, and the *Nassauians* forced to retire vnder their battels of pikes. *Arenbergue* advanced with all speed both horse and foote. Being neere *Bracmout* and his Spaniſh cryed to Count *Arenbergue* to charge: withall *Arenbergue* and his Lieutenant charged at once. According to direction Count *Adolfe* retired, bringing Count *Arenbergue* (who had by far the greatest wing) on Count *Lodowicke*. So did the other bring *Arenbergues* Lieutenants through the lane where the pikes were.

were. *Lodowicke* giuing signe to his Reysters in the third lane to charge, withall chargeth himselfe, and found Count *Arenbergue* and his Lieutenant good cheape; by reason they were out of order in running after *Adolfes* troupes. His Lieutenent *Henrick Vausichan* was broken by the *Spanish* and *Wallons*: but at the sight of their horsemen which were in route, their courage quailed; in such sort, that valiant *Lodowicke* ranne thorow them cheape. In this place the Count of *Arenbergue* was slaine, all or most of the *Tertia de Sardinia* slaine or taken prisoners; with a number of *Wallons* and *Geldreis*. Diuers *Spanish* Captaines escaped by recouering their horses, which were led not farre from them. So did diuers *Wallons*, and many of their horsemen, by reason *Lodowicke* executed the most of his furie on the *Spanish* footemen. At the returne of the *Spanish* Captaines that escaped, Duke *D'alua* executed them, as I shewed in my discourse of their discipline, for vrging their Generall to their ouerthrow.

The *Spanish* discipline.

Count Lodowicke assaies Groning, and the Duke
D'Alua ouertrowes him at Dam in Frizeland.

Lodowicke be-
siegeth Gron-
ing.



Vitelli in ayde
of Groning.

Is dared to bat-
taile by Lodo-
wicke.

Refuseth, and
yet giueth
hope thereof.
D'Alua appro-
beth.

Lodowicke rety-
reth.

After this, Count Lodowicke ransack-
ed Frizeland at his pleasure, inso-
much that he besieged the faire and
rich Towne of Groning. Duke
D'Alua hearing this, dispatched his
Marshall, otherwise called Master
of the Campe, generall Chiapin Vi-
telli with sufficient troupes of horse-
men and footmen, being ioyned with Count de Meguen,
to stop Lodowickes course. Duke d'Alua used all diligence
to gather his whole forces; who marched with all speed
after Vitelli. Vitelli being arriued by Groning, Lodowicke
retired his siege into one quarter, resolving to giue Vi-
telli battaile; to which end he sent his Trumpeters to Vi-
telli to dare him, a small riuer being betwixt both. Vitelli
kept the passages, brake the bridges, answered Count
Lodowicke hee had no order to giue battaile, but to dis-
charge the Towne of Groning; delaying the Count po-
litickely, and telling his messengers: *I will send vnto my
Generall to obtaine his good will; your Master may be assured,
hauing leaue, a battaile will be my first businesse.* Duke d'Al-
ua being arriued with his faire armie within a daies iour-
ney of Vitelli, Count Lodowicke retyred into Lemming,
a Village by Nuse-heile towards Emden, breaking the
bridges after him. At the end of the Village towards
the enemye, he left Henrick Vauschan his Lieutenant,
with all his infanterie, being some eight thousand; which
were increased by reason of his good successe at the last
battaile. This Lemming was a place enuironed with wa-
ters,

ters, sauing two or three large wayes which came into it from *Groning*. On euery way Count *Lodowick* made trenches, placed strong guards, ranged his horsemen in foure squadrons; making what meanes he could to fill ditches, to enlarge grounds, to make waies for his horse to fight out of the high wayes in diuers of the meadowes towards *Nuse-heile*. By reason of the streights, his horsemen stood behinde the footmen in the great wayes. *Henrick Vauschan* hauing intrenched himselfe reasonably strong, with siue thousand men to defend the place against the enimie; planted diuers field peecees which flanked the quarter where the enimie must attempt. Hearing Duke *D'Aluaes* Curriers advanced within the sight of the *Nassawians* guardes, *Lodowicke* sent two hundred Reysters to re-encounter them, giuing them charge to stoppe their course what they could; to winnetime to strengthen his trenches, w^{ch} were in working with all his hands. Being re-encountred, both these Curriers fell into a hot skirmish. *Julian Romero* hauing the vanguard with *Robelos*, seconded their Curriers with some foure or siue hundred Horguleters, in such sort, that the *Nassawians* were forced to retyre on the spurre. At the sight whercof *Lodowicke* passed some foure hundred Reysters, commanded by a valiant man, who charged the Spaniards into the squadrons which *Julian* and the other led, beeing foure regiments of *Spaniards* and *Wallons*. The grand Prior Duke *D'Aluaes* sonne commanded the battaile, hauing with him *don Iohn de Mendosa*, Generall of the horsemen with *Vitelly*. They passed with all speed through the vaunt-guarde some seuen hundred Lanciers, which chased the *Nassawians* into their infantrie. And withall *Julian* and *Robelos* advanced with all speed: so did

Fortifieth himselfe at *Iemming*.

Seeketh to stop the enemy.

Relieth his Curriers.

the grand prior with his battaile; and Duke *D'Alua* with his sonne *Don Frederico* accompanied with diuers others of great quality, seconded the battaile in great march. *Lodowicke* giuing courage to his infantry, the base villaines (as I shew'd you before) cryd *gilt, gilt*, according to their simple and olde base customes. *Iulian* and *Robelos* being *Pell mell* with them, they hurled downe their weapons, crying, *Liue Spaniard, bone Papiſts moy*. Notwithstanding *Lodowicke* recouered his horsemen, who beganne also to shake and to crye for money. True it is, at the first approach of Duke *D'Alua* in *Frizeland*, foure dayes before the horsemen beganne to murmure, and to counsaile *Lodowicke* to returne to *Emden*. *Lodowicke* seeing this disaster, pulled off his caske, desiring his horsemen to follow him, or to stand to beare witnesse how honestly his brother stood with some five hundred horsemen; desiring him to charge those Launces which aduanced hard before them. Count *Adolfe* did it with great courage, although halfe his Squadron quitted him. At which instant *Lodowicke* cryed to his horsemen, *All you that haue a humor to liue follow mee*. Withall he gaue the spurres. Some three hundred horsemen followed him, the rest ranne away. Notwithstanding, his brother and himselfe with lesse then sixe hundred Reysters draue aboute eight hundred *Launciers* besides *Herguleters* into their vanguard of foote. By that time the Spanish Generall of horsemen was arrived with great troupes, which soone mastered the *Nassawians*; in which place *Lodowicke* was hurt very sore in two or three places, and his horse also. Notwithstanding hee escaped with wonderfull hazard by swimming a riuer, and recouered *Emden*. His brother Count *Adolfe* with the most or all the Gentlemen that

His Germans
cryed for guilt,
and are payed
by the Spani-
ards.

His braue reso-
lution in grea-
test distresse.

The valour of
Count *Adolfe*.

Count *Lodo-
wicke* defeated.

Adolfe slaine.

that followed him were slaine, or taken ; so that scarce fortie escaped of both their troupes. All or the most of his infanterie were taken and slaine, saving a troupe which made a composition, being strongly entrenched with *Henrick Vansichan*. Notwithstanding the Spanish used them cruelly, according to their cowardly deserts ; putting all or the most to the sword, & winning all their artillerie munition & baggage. This ouerthrow recōpenced double *Lodowicks* victorie : But without doubt had the base people fought & followed *Lodowicks* directiōs, the losse had bin the Spaniards, the seate of the *Nassauians* was such. Besides, I forget to speake of a ditch which *Lodowicke* commanded to bee cut, in such sort, that the water could haue assured their quarter within lesse then tenne howers. This valiant Count had reason to draw *Vitelli* to battaile ; knowing, in retyring before greater forces, the courage of his base souldiers would quaille. But hauing intelligence of Duke *D'Aluaes* approach, and finding the mindes of his men failing, hee had greater reason either to retire without ingaging a fight, or to haue fortified a strong passage where hee might haue made head safely, vntill the Prince his brother would haue succoured him with more supplies. This hee might haue done, considering the time and warning hee had since the arriual of *Vitelli*, vntill the coming of Duke *D'Alua* ; principally since the ouerthrow of *Arenbergue* ; finding *Groning* not to bee taken, and seeing forces encreasing daily against him. But giue him his worthy right, to correct his deedes I may bee compared vnto a counterfeit *Alexander* on a Stage, better then to the valiant and discrete Count.

The cause of
Lodowicks drawing
Vitelli.

The

The Prince of Oranges first journey into Brabant.

The Prince of
Oranges towards
Brabant.



Ouching the Prince of *Oranges* journey into *Brabant*, I can speake no more than this. By the ayde of the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and his own house of *Nassau*, which ingaging the greatest part of his owne Countrey of *Nassau*, he leauied some tennethousand *Reisters*, and

twelue thousand *Launce-Knights*. With those, and some two thousand *Ramassees*, of *Wallons*, *French*, and *Flemmings*, fugitiues; but a number of them braue Gentlemen of good quality, especially the Count of *Holdestocke*, being entred *Cleueland*, the Prince bent his course towards the riuer of *Mase*: resolving to passe the laid riuer by the great and rich Towne of *Leige*, making account to finde some good partie in that Towne. Besides, diuers of the other Townes of *Brabant*, *Flaunders*, and other Prouinces promised him assistance, in case hee would encounter *D. D'Alua* in the field. Hauing passed the *Mase*, & being encamped by *Liege*, *D. d'Alua* vnderstanding his meaning by good espyalls before his arriuell, sent some Captaines of quality who were expert in those affaires, both to the Bishops and to the Clergie; to aduertile and direct them to defend themselves; assuring them (if neede required) hee would hazard battaile for them. This Towne being Neuter, and of the Empire, onely gouerned by Priests and such men, with the assistance and counsaile of Duke *D'Aluaes* instruments, beganne,

Commeth to
Leige.

D'Alua sendeth
to *Liege*.

ganne to shew themselves rather enemies then well-willers vnto the Prince ; Insomuch that diuers sacked and spoyled some baggage and victuals loosely guarded, which passed vnder their fauours. The poore Prince seeing himselfe so vsed by the *Liegeois*, was vncertaine what to imagine, fearing the rest of the Townes would doe the like; hauing but small store of munition of his owne, and little hope to procure from others. Also Duke d'*Alua* fronted him with a faire armie, but not comparable to his, especially in horsemen : for the Prince had more then double his numbers. Notwithstanding, Duke d'*Alua* was on the surest hand, by reason all the Townes and passages were at his deuotion. Diuers skirmishes passed betwixt both parties ; but the Prince could neuer ingage Duke d'*Alua* to battaile, by reason he would bee sure to be strongly entrenched (especially being in the field) and lodged often vnder the fauour of his Townes. Hauing intelligence that the Prince meant to enter *Louaine*, to front him in his passage; he sent his great Captaine *Robelos* and *Mondragon*, with some twentie ensignes of fooremⁿ *Spanish* and *Wallons*, and five Cornets of horsemen into *Tylmount*. This *Tylmount* is within three leagues of *Louaine* ; a place of no strength, but sufficient to withstand the Princes forces, hauing an armie hard by to countenance them. For D. d'*Alua* was encamped within three leagues. In the Princes march the garrison of *Tylmount* annoyed him greatly : so that all his forces were constrained to stand in battaile before *Tylmount*, vntill his rereguard and baggage were past. Insomuch that Duke d'*Alua* had the better meanes to looke to *Louaine* : but offering them garrison, they refused it ; assuring him they would be loyall vnto the King, and him. Duke d'*Alua* politickely contented himselfe, fearing by despaire to

Liege enemy
to the Prince.

Sendeth forces
to affront the
Prince.

The garrison
there annoyeth
the Prince.

Louaine refused
a *Spanish*
garrison.

enforce them to revolt to the Prince. Notwithstanding, he vsed them with threatnings, that he would looke vnto their doings; assuring them that hee would account them rebels, if they would alsist the Prince with any necessities. But he doubted not their loyalties in defending the Towne.

To be the better assured, he sent diuers of good iudgement to alsist & counsaile them, as he did to *Liege*. Himselfe retired with his armie neere vnto *Brussels*; to assure both *Brussels* and *Monts in Henault*. The Prince being encamped vnder *Louaine*, found not them so angrie as the Priests of *Liege*. For *Louaine* was an Vniuersity gouerned by good natured people, and a number of Nobilitie (as strangers tearme all Gentlemen) were allyed to the Prince, or to diuers of his followers. Besides, at that time the people in generall hated the *Spanish* deadly; in such sort, that for all Duke d' *Aluaes* instruments (but for their buttered hearts and flegmaticke liuers) they would haue opened their gates. The Prince perceiuing their peeuishnesse, seeing his Orators could not preuaile to make him enter, he burnt their barriers, and terrified them in such sort, that either feare or loue made them to giue a great peece of money, with much victuals. Perceiuing his fortune that no place would accept him, and that Duke d' *Alua* would aduenture no battel, he thought it his best to retire. But politickly he and his instruments perswaded their armie, that the Admirall *Chastillon* was arriued in the frontiers of *Artois* with a mighty armie of Frenchmen; and that they would ioyne with them. They gaue out also, that the Queene of *England* had sent a great treasure vnto the Admirall to pay both their forces. Hereby they encouraged the Mechanick mercenary

Reyfters

But yet yeld
him money &
victuals.

The Prince
retireth.

His policy to
keepe his army
from mainie.

Reyfters to march ; Having intelligence at *Valentia* a Towne in *Hennault*, neere vnto the frontiers. Being arriued there, the Prince and his armie beganne to take courage, partly because they knew Duke *d'Alua* would follow them no further, but chiefly because they might bee presently in *France*. And although the army should mutinie, according to their custome, as I said before, the Prince and his commanders might easily escape and shift for themselves; who other wise should be in great danger. For being engaged amongst their enemies, they might haue beene deliuered by their owne souldiers to Duke *d'Alua*, either for passage or for money. In this place the Prince finding his ruttters alert, (as the *Italians* say) with aduise of his valiant brother, hee sent his Trumpets to *D. d'Alua* to tell him : that he would bee the next day fower leagues towards him, with fewer in number then himselfe did lead, where hee would stay his answer and dare him battaile. The Duke lay entrenched within six leagues of the Prince, having with him some twenty thousand. True it is, his horsemen did not amount to fower thousand. But they were *Italians*, *Wallons*, and *Albaneses*, who in troth were to be valued with thrice as many Reisters: yea, in my iudgemēt with six times so many, being not accompanied wth such Chiefs as Count *Lodowicke*. The trumpets being arriued, *D. d'Alua* hanged one, & answered the other: Well, tell thy Master, my Master will maintaine his armie continually ; and thy Master (I am assured) will breake his within few dayes upon wants. Therefore I haue no reason to fight, were I sure to winne the battaile. And although I know the valure of my men farre surmounting his, yet notwithstanding no battaile can be fought without some losses on both sides. For these causes I will not fight.

He commeth to *Valentia*.

Auoydeth the danger of his mutinous souldiers.

Biddeth *d'Alua* battaile.

Hee hanged one of the Trumpeters. Refuseth to fight.

Vitelly perswaded him all he could to accept the offer, and
 death to fight. to fight: alleaging the danger not to be great, considering
 the difference betwixt the men. Alleaging also that in de-
 feating the Prince, & leauing his person dead in the field,
 their warres would be ended by all reason. For my part
 I am of *Vitellyes* mind ; but the wisest and of best iudge-
 ment will be of Duke *d'Aluaes*. For all battailes end as
 pleaseth the great God. Had Duke *d'Alua* beene defea-
 ted, he had not onely lost his forces, but all his Masters
 countries. The next day the Prince rose from *Valentia*
 according to promise, leauing all his baggage and worst
 disposed souldiers in safety by *Valentia*. Hee marched
 with all or the most of his horsemen and footemen tri-
 umphing with drums and trumpets towards Duke *d'Al-
 ua*, to the place his trumpets did assigne. Duke *d'Alua*
 was also in order of battaile, but kept all his footemen in
 trenches with his horsemen ; sauing the guards which
 were beaten in by the valiant Count *Lodowicke*, who led
 the vant-guarde with three thousand of the best sort of
 Reisters. But the Prince and *Manderslo* his Marshall, with
 diuers others, would not march so fast as *Lodowicke*,
 with the battaile and rereguard. Wherefore *Lodowicke*
 was forced to retyre, being within sight of Duke *d'Al-
 uaes* trenches ; raging with the Prince and the rest, for
 not marching to force the trenches. Alleaging vnto the,
 as it was very true, it were better to bee defeated in fight-
 ing, then for wants ; as they were sure in a short time to
 be. Being retyred, they resolued to follow their first de-
 termination, the sooner the better ; seeing *Valentia* would
 doe nothing for them. Duke *d'Alua* hauing news of their
 reitreit and resolution, rose also, following them a farre
 off like a fox, in such sort that he would be surely lodged,
 and

The danger of
 the losse of the
 battaile to the
 Spaniards.

The Prince
 marcheth to
 the place assign-
 ed.

Count *Lodo-
 wicke* hath the
 vangard and
 bears in the
 Dukes guards.

Counsellers to
 force his tent.

D'Alua follow-
 eth.

and march safely from hazarding battaile, by *Peronne* on the French frontiers. *Vitelly* ouertooke diuers baggages and straglers, in such sort, that he put a number of them to the sword: who were not guarded by reason of their owne negligence, in stragling behinde and aside the rereguarde, vknowne to Count *Lodowicke* who made the retraits. But so soone as *Lodowicke* had knowledge hereof, he returned in such sort, that *Vitelly* and his vanguard of horsemen were forced to runne till hee met Duke d' *Alua*, to his disgrace; considering his speeches fower dayes before. After this the Duke pursued no further, and the Prince and his armie entred *France*, hauing no meanes to content his armie but with spoyles of the *French*: which they did not spare (as the Prouinces of *Champaine* and *Picardy* can witnesse) in their retraits to *Germanie*.

Vitelly cutteth off straglers.

Is forced to run, by *Lodowicke*.

D' *Alua* retyreth.

The Prince in *France*.

THIS was the fortune of the poore Prince, for want of meanes to nourish his men of warre: and will bee of all others, vnlesse their Chieffes prouide in time either money or spoyles. To say troth, the Princes fortune might easily haue bene iudged when he feared to enter *Liege*. For all voluntary armes, I meane that are not payed, are gone and defeated in short time; in case they misse rich spoyles at their first entry into the enemies Countries. In my time I remember fower came to ruine with those fortunes. Besides this, they did some other matters about *Zutphen*, *Ruimond*, and those parts, by meanes of the Princes brother in law the Count of *Bergues*: But it proued to small effect. For alwaies the Masters of the field commaund all weake places in a short time. Wherefore (as I said before) a voluntary armie

The causes of the Princes bad successe.

What townes
are defensible.

must either be enriched presently with spoyles, or else assured by strong seats. But let the seate be neuer so strong, the master of the field will command it in time, vnlesse it be some strong port like *Flushing*, *Rochell*, *Callice*, *Marsiliis*, *Brouage*, *Graueling*: or at the least some frontier strong place, that a State or Potentate dares not assiege, hauing no hope to despaire the Gouvernour to deliuer it into their enemies hands. For example, *Goorden of Callice* being wooed and desired by his Master the French King, to deliuer *Callice* vnto his fauourite *Espernon*; for all his faire words and large offers hee would bee Gouvernour still. So likewise *S. Luke* held *Brouage*; also *Lamote* kept *Graueling*; making his peace as pleased him with the Spanish King, and after offending to the highest degree. Wherefore in a troubled estate, there can bee no surery comparable to a strong government.

Duke D'Alua abuseth his masters seruice in not finishing the Cittadle of Flushing before that of Antwerpe, and in neglecting to place sure garrisons in the sea ports.



After this, the poore Prince remained in *Germanie* (God knowes) almost despairing to doe any more good against the Spanish; but that the Almighty stirred new instruments to maintaine his cause, and blinded the Spanish in their affaires. As I said before, they left the Cittadle of *Flushing*, being the onely port and key of the *Netherlands* unfinished, and ended that of *Antwerpe*: All men

men of warre of any iudgement may easily conceiue, The Duke D'Aluaces error in not building & fortifying the Cittadle of Flushing. had they finished first the Cittadle of *Flushing*, *Zealand* had neuer reuoted. Yea, had they placed some 2000. souldiers in garrison in their ports of *Brill*, *Medenblake*, and *Harlem*; with some five hundred in the Cittadle of *Flushing*; *Holland* and *Friseland*, with the rest of the Province had beene sure. For the Spanish with their infinite Indian treasure, beside the rich *Netherlands* and other places, were sure to be master of the field; hauing none to feare or to annoy them, but *England*, *Scotland*, *Germany*, and *France*. Touching *England*, we had neither reason England. nor surety to haue meddled with their actions; without being assured of some of their best ports; the mutability of the people is such. Touching *Scotland*, I perswade my selfe they would not haue meddled with thē, in case they had not bin ioyned with *England*. Touching *France*, you France. saw the Spaniards meanes so great in those parts, that his faction was to be compared to the Kings, or any other; and would haue beene farre greater if the *Guyse* had liued. Touching *Germany*, their house of *Austria* compassed Germany. the contrary of the best sort in those parts. As for Mercenaries, we know it by good experience, commonly they follow the best purlie; and by that reason the multitude of that Nation and *Swizers* had beene theirs. Touching the state of *Italy*, either it is his, or dare not offend him. Italy. For the *Venecians* are no body without Mercenaries; The *Venice.* *Genueois* are all or the most part at his deuotion: the great houses of *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Parma*, *Vrbis*, *Graftino*, with Genue. all the rest of any qualicie of those stirring spirits, are either his seruants or Pensioners. Touching the Clergie, The great houses. either his loue or feare makes Popes and Cardinals as pleaseth him. *Portugall* is his. Touching *Denmarke*, Portugall. *Sweden*, Denmarke.

Sweden.
The Hauns
townes.
Poland.

D'Aluasprietz.

Sweden, the Hauns townes, Poland, and such like; they are either mercenaries too farre off to annoy them, or the most of them Mechanicks, without Chiefes of any conduct. Being assured (as they thought) of the *Neatherlanders* affaires, Duke d'Alua made his statue in brasle, placed it in the middest of the Castle of *Antwerpe*, treading on the Counts of *Egmond* and *Horne*; with the Prince of *Orange* looking vnder him for wayes to escape. Hee made alio peeces of *Arras*, wherein were represented his sieges, battailes, and actions of armes in one peece: his owne portraiture standing like the picture of the Sunne, with all the ensignes and Cornets which euer he wanne, placed round about him.

Count Lodowicke surprizeth Mounts in Henault, which is besieged and taken by Duke d'Alua.



The massacre
of Paris.

Lodowicke craveth
ayde in
France.

Obtaineth the
Kings consent.

At this time the French King and they of the religion were at peace, so that the Admirall *Chastilion* thought himselfe assured of the King: but poore Lord, himselfe & many others were treacherously handled, as the massacre of *Paris* can witnesse. At this time Count *Lodowicke* was in *Paris*: and finding accessse to the King by the Admirals meanes, procured diuers principals of the religion to promise, to succour the Prince his brother, & him against the Spanish. To whose demands the King agreed most willingly, by his Machiavell mothers counsaile; who neuer cared what became of any estate or world to come, so shee might serue the present purpose, and maintaine her owne greatnesse.

Considering

Considering her Machiavel humors, she was much too blame in this; knowing the French disposition, rather than to live long in peace, to fall into fight one with another. In going with Count Lodowicke shee was assured, that most or all which would goe with him, would bee of the religion: If they prospered, Lodowicke promised some frontier townes to the French for the Kings vse; if not, they might be glad to lose so many enemies. By reason of the Kings and his mothers dissembling leaue, and master Secretarie *Walsinghams* true and honest meaning to the cause in generall, and to Count Lodowicke in particular, the Count esteemed his affaires in good estate. Master Secretarie then beeing Embassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in *Paris*, furnished the Count all hee could with countenance and crownes; in such sort, that the Count resolved to depart into the *Lowe Countries*: having the Admirals assurance to second him, if his journey prospered. But presently there went with him Mounseigneur *De la Noue*, Mounseigneur *de Poiet*, Mounseigneur *de Ro- ueres*, Sir *William Morgan*, Mounseigneur *Ianlis*, Mounseigneur *de Monie*, with diuers other French Gentlemen of qualitie. These by the Admirals meanes were to second him presently with sixe thousand footemen, and some foure hundred horse, all Frenchmen. Count Lodowicke sent sundry Gentlemen *Netherlanders*, some known in *Mounts* in *Henawlt*, some strangers vnknowne, appareled like Merchants. Who with their practise and meanes vsed the matter well with diuers of the Religion, which were well knowne vnto them: Besides a number of Papists honest patriots, who loued the Prince of *Orange*, principally because they knew that he and his hated the Spaniards. And although the Prince were of the religion, his

The French humors.

M Secretary *Walsingham*.

Lodowicke dispatcheth his instruments to *Mounts*.

The stratagem
for gaining the
towne.

The surprizing
of Mounts.

promise was to grant liberty of conscience being victorious : for which cause he carried many thousand hearts more then he should haue done otherwise. In those daies few of the popular were of the religion, but all in generall hated the *Spanish* deadly. Count *Lodowickes* instruments behaued themselves so well, that promise was made vnto them; when they would deuise any meanes, they should be seconded to doe the Prince service, or any of his. This message being declared to the Prince, hee returned the one partie presently to their fellowes, whom they had left behinde them in the towne; giuing them charge in the breake of morning the third day, to vse the matter so, that the porter should let them out at the Ports of *Hauery*. That being out, they should giue the watch some bribe, and shoote off a Peece; appoyning that hee would be in person hard by ready to enter. According to promise, the parties executed his commandement : acquainting therewith an honest Inne-keeper of the religion. The Count giuing order vnto some seuen hundred footmen to march with all speed possible towards *Mounts*, departed with the chiefs named before, accompanied with some foure hundred braue horsemen; all or the most Gentlemen and officers who had commanded before. The worst of these three, either *la Noue*, *Poiet*, or *Roueres* deserued to command twenty thousand men. The worthy Count hauing made a great Caulcadoe (as they tearm it) from his last lodging, arriued three howers before day at the place appointed : After, leauing *Mesieurs de Poiet*, and *Roueres* in ambush within foure hundred pases of the port, himselfe, Mounsieur *de la Noue*, Sir *William Morgan*, and some fiftie horsemen approached as neere vnto the port as they could bee co-
uert.

uert. According vnto promise the Merchants were let out, and withalla Peece went off; at which noyse the Count and histroupe rushed in, diuers peeces and petronels going off. The watchmen ranne away at the noyse, *Mesieurs de Poiet*, and *Roveres* dislodged on the spurre, and entred also. The Count entring the Market-place, and there setting his men in order, caused all the Magistrates to be assembled. Being together hee vsed these speeches.

Lodowicke entred the town.

Assembleth the Magistrates.

Deare Countrimen, my comming is not against you, but against the tyrannous Spaniards; who haue vndone the Prince my brother, and all his house, and will make you slaues if you doe not resolue to prevent them; which you may if it please you. Ioyne with mee, and I assure you, I come not hither of my selfe, but am promised by the French King, and other Potentates to bee seconded presently. In the meane time you shall see *Lodowicke* and histroupes sufficient to answere the furie of Duke d'Al-
aa. Assure your selues without the ayde of mighty strangers, & assurance that my brother the Prince will march with all speed to our succours with a puissant army, I and these Gentlemen had neuer engaged our selues vpon any land towne as this is. Although wee neede not to feare, knowing the strength of the place to be sufficiēt to withstand any forces that shall present themselves before it, being manned with a reasonable troupe; much more hauing so many Chiefes as you see here; naming vnto him the great Captains that accompanied him, whose names were well knowne vnto most of the Burgeses.

He speaketh to them.

His speeches gaue great courage vnto the Burgeses, who were soone perswaded to depart peaceably to their houses, and to deliuer the keyes of their gates to the

The Papists
perplexed.

The Spaniol-
ized Mount-
depart with
good leaue.

The King of
France his ad-
uertisement to
Duke D'Alua.

D'Alua distru-
eth the French.

Count. Although the people hated the Spanish deadly, they knew not what to make of this surprize; whereat great murmuring was in corners. Some feared *Lodowick* would alter their masse, which they most esteemed (for all or the most part were *Romane Catholickes*) others feared Duke *d'Aluaes* furie, in such sort, that many presented supplications to the Count, that hee would permit them to depart the towne, with their wealth and baggage. Some had leaue; especially such as were known to be obstinately spaniolized; who eased the rest greatly that stayed. For in their houses the Count lodged diuers of his troupes, and were for the most part the wealthiest of the towne. Duke *d'Alua* hearing this, was greatly amazed; although the French King aduertised him how all promises passed in *France*; and that he had made a draught for his master and himselfe, to be quit of a great number of enemies; thinking indeed that *Lodowicke* and all his followers should fall into his hands. But the Count himselfe and his vigilant followers deceiued both King and Duke: who (as you heard) surprized *Mounts* suddenly and vnlooked for at both their hands. This made Duke *d'Alua* amazed, thinking the French King doubled with him and his Maister; as King *Henric* and his Constable *Mountmorency* did for *Mets* in *Lorraine*, with *Charles* the first. Count *Lodowickes* footemen (named before) being arrived, and the Count perceiuing the murmure of the greatest part of the townesmen, who were very well armed, strong, and in good order (in such sort that Duke *d'Alua* vsing before all the policie hee could, neuer could place garrison in this towne, by reason of their strong seate well fortified, and aboue three thousand men bearing armes; besides as many or more able to carrie

armes;

armes ; all obstinate, mutinous *Wallons*, wanting neither victuals, artillery, nor munition) hee sought to make his partie and himselfe as strong as he could. And hearing how Duke d'Alva gathered all the forces he could, with great speed and preparations to besiege him presently; he acquainted therewith them of the religion, and such burgeses as he thought assured vnto him. After placing his men in order in the market-place, and seising on the best in *Mouuts*, hee made proclamation vpon paine of death, that all townesmen should bring their armes into the Towne-house within sixe howers, which was obeyed with all possible speed. This done, he gaue armes vnto some five hundred of the religion, and assured vnto him; the rest he fed with faire words; assuring them on his honour, that neither himselfe nor any of his companies should abuse them. But what he did was for the surerie of himselfe and his companie; assuring them, if the siege presented not, to deliuer them their armes againe: If it presented, & it pleased the Almighty to fauour him, at the enemies retreat he would leaue them as hee found them; Conditionally, to accept a small garrison during the Spanish gouernement. As for such (said hee) as will not endure my gouernement and orders, let them come vnto me, they shall haue free leaue to depart with all their goods: leauing behinde them victuals and such necessities as may pleasure their besieged friends. They seeing their fellowes houses who departed before vsed with hauocke, which happened (as they thought) for want of masters to keepe them, and to complaine of their guests abuses: seeing also they could not carrie away the one quarter of their goods; the most part resolved to stay. Desiring the Counts leaue to signifie vnto

Lodo. vicke dis-
armeth such as
he distrusteth.

Hee giueth them
leaue to depart.

They choose
to stay, and for
what causes.

Lodowicks horsemen spoyle the Country.

Chiapine Vitelly encloseth *Mounts*.

Lodowicke sallied, and in what order.

Poyet and *la Noue* in ambush.

Roueres left in the towne.

their friends in *Antwerpe* and *Brussels*, how they were constrained to stay perforce in the towne; meaning by that meanes to excuse themselves vnto Duke *d'Alma*, whom they feared aboute all the world. Every day some of *Lodowicks* horsemen ranne vnto the ports of *Brussels*, and vp and downe the Countreies as pleased them; spoiling and wasting what they listed. Often they had great skirmishes, but alwaies they defeated their enemies with halfe their numbers, in such sort that *d'Almaes* Captaines made ambushes for them, five hundred at a time, and the others would passe through them being scarce halfe their numbers. This continued some time: but *d'Alma* hauing gathered his forces, dispatched *Chiapin Vitelly* with the most of his Cavalrie, and certaine regiments of footmen; giuing him charge to inclose the towne in such sort, as the garrison could not sallie forth. Being approached *Mounts*, *Lodowicke* sallied, accompanied with the Lord of *la Noue*, and *Poyet*, Sir *William Morgan*, and diuers other aduenturers of good qualirie, with all his horsemen, & halfe his footmen; leauing Mounſieur *de Roueres* in the towne, well accompanied with the rest. Being past his Counterscarfe, he left Mounſieur *de la Noue*, who gaue order vnto five hundred Harquebusiers to hide themselves close in the high wayes, some hundred score from the gates; *Poyet* and *la Noue* stood with two squadrons of horses a little before them, either squadron being of an hundred and fiftie; the rest the Count commanded to go to ingage the enemy to skirmish. Mounſieur *de Roueres* caused diuers pieces of artillerie to be transported from other *Mounts*, vnto the *Mounts* that commanded the field towards the enemy. The enemy aduanced bravely both horse and foote; at which sight *Lodowicks*

wickes Curriers encountred theirs with sundry Cornets. The first med-
 But they forced the *Nassawians* to retire, and double ly.
 their pases towards *la Nove* and *Poyet*. At this sight *la*
Nove aduanced, desiring the Count to giue order to *Poiet*
 to stand, and the Harquebusiers to keepe close, telling *La Nove* char-
 him; *I know the enemy will repulse mee, notwithstanding I* geth.
will charge with your leaue; in my retreit, let the ambush of
shot discharge their voles; then Poyet may charge the better
cheap. The Curriers being hard at hand, *la Nove* aduaced,
 crying to his company, *Courage, turne bridle.* And withall
 charging some 400. Launciers, & Herguleters, gaue thē
 the retreit into our squadrons, which aduanced to re-en-
 counter *la Nove*. At whose sight *la Nove* retired, bringing
 the enemies full vpon the ambush of shot: which gaue
 them such a *salue* of Harquebushes, that happie was hee
 that retyred first. Withall *Poyet* charged very couragi-
 ously, in such sort, that the enemies doubled their pases
 towards their battell. At whose reitrete, the Count wise-
 ly retyred his foormen into the towne, with his horse-
 men in good order. In the meane time Mounseur de Ro-
 ueres forgot not to plague them with his artillery. The
 Generall of the horsemen and *Vitelly* aduanced, their bat-
 taile remained halfe of horse & foot in armes, vntill their
 quarters were entrenched; which they did in a short
 time: For they were furnished with a great number of
 pioners, and all necessities, in such sort, that in lesse then
 fortie howers they assured the one halfe of the towne
 from salying forth. Notwithstanding, the ports towards
Kalentia and *Hauery* were cleare. There stood an Abbey
 or Cloyster some halfe an English mile from the towne,
 on a little riuer which ran frō the towne to the Cloister.
 The place was not strong, nor able to abide the Cannon.

*Retireth to
draw the ene-
my to the am-
bush.*

*The ambush
sheweth it selfe.
Poiet chargeth.*

*Lodowicks rety-
reth his foot-
men into the
Towne.*

*The enemies
order for en-
trenchments.*

*The holding
of an Abbey
without the
towne.*

Neuerthelesse,

Neuerthelesse, it was necessarie to be kept; for betwixt
 For what cause. it and the Towne there was good store of grasse and
 corne, with other necessities to feed horses and cattel:
 Besides, they were assured the enimie would attempt this
 place first. Therefore to winne time, it was most necessarie
 to be kept. Into this Cloister Mounſieur *de Poyet* desired
 to goe with some eight hundred Harquebusiers: Al-
 though the Count and the rest were loath to hazard his
 person. Notwithstanding the other alleaging himselfe to
 be but the third person in the towne, desired and perswa-
 ded them, that halfe their foote-men should not goe to
 keepe any place, without the company of a principall
 Chiefe. To fulfill his desire it was granted him, refer-
 ring all vnto himselfe: being entreated not to engage
 himselfe further then he might well retyre; and assured
 that *Lodowick* & the rest would quite the towne and all to
 follow him, although they were sure to perish. Moun-
 ſieur *de Poyet* hauing posselt the place, and furnished with
 about tenne dayes victuals, vsed all meanes to strengthen
 himselfe. By this time *Vitelly* had made the quarters to-
 wards *Brussels* very strong; in such sort, that two thou-
 sand were sufficient to garde it against tenne thousand.
 For he made there good forts about a quarter of a league
 one from another, with strong trenches that ranne from
 fort to fort, that no horse-men could fall y ouer them; And
 their footemen durst not passe those guardes, for feare of
 the Counts horse-men. *Vitelly* dislodged with all his horse
 and foote, sauing the guards which he left in his forts,
 and remained in battaile betwixt the ports of *Valentia*
 and *Hauery*, vntill he erected a large fort like vnto the o-
 thers. Hauing left two regiments of footmen in it, hee
 retyred with his Causalric and the rest of his footemen

Fortifieth the
 place.

Vitelly finish-
 eth his worke
 begunne.

Maketh a new
 fort.

VNTO

vnto the next Village, some halfe a league off, leauing
 neere halfe his troupes in guard, that they might be sure
 vntill the arriuall of Duke d'Alua: Who beganne to set
 out from *Brussels* with the rest of his armie, artillerie, mu-
 nition and baggage that night, about two howers before
 day. The towne and cloyster hauing intelligence, sallied
 out from both quarters some eight hundred footemen,
 with all their horsemen; to giue a camisado vnder the
 conduct of Mounſieur de *Roueres*. Being met in one place,
 they gaue furiously into *Vitellies* quarter, and forced his
 guardes into their place of armes. *Mendoza* being lod-
 ged apart with most of the *Caualerie*, gathered presently
 his horsemen in order, and gaue resolutely into *Vitellies*
 quarter: which was in danger to be runne through with
 this Camizado. Mounſieur *Roueres* like a discrete
 souldier had left one of his best Captaines short of the
 enemies quarter, with some three hundred of his best
 shot, and a hundred and fiftie horsemen for his retreat;
 which saued him and the most of his troupes. *Mendo-*
za charged *Roueres* in such sort, that happie was he who
 could returne first. Comming vnto his ambush, they pep-
 pered *Mendoza* and his horsemen with a salue of Har-
 quebushes, that turned them backe vpon the other: At
 which instant the hundred and fiftie horsemen charged
 them on their backs. By that time, *Vitelly* and the most
 of his troupes were in order; aduancing with all speed
 towards *Roueres*. Notwithstanding *Roueres* and his
 braue Captaines (especially his *Caualerie*) retyred with
 small losse into the Cloyster, where *Poyet* was readie to
 receiue them in order without; in such sort, that *Vitelly*
 pursued no further. At this Camizado the enemy lost six
 for one of the *Nassawians*; by reason *Roueres* had forced
 their guardes before the rest were in armes. The next

D'Alua setteth
 forth.

Roueres salyeth
 vpon *Vitellies*
 quarter.

Mendoza suc-
 coureth the
 quarter.

Roueres order
 for retreat.

Roueres rety-
 reth.

day toward night Duke d'Aluac vanrguard was in sight of the Towne; but before his rereguard came to their quarter it was nine of the clocke the next morning, by reason they marched very slowly: and not without reason. For they haied with them two and twentie pieces of batterie, besides some other field pieces, with all the munition belonging vnto them. Duke d'Alua be-

Duke D'Alua
arriued.

Entrencheth
himselfe.

Battereth the
Cloyster.

Poyet abydeth
one dayes bat-
tery, and rety-
reth by night.

ing arriued, incamped on the riuer side betwixt the meadowes and the hills, from the wayes towards *Valencia* downe to the Cloyster. Along this riuer he made strong trenches, which assured his armie towards the fields; towards the towne he made large deepe trenches, impolssible to be entred. This man would commonly assure himselfe with trenches, although the enemies were lodged three dayes iourney from him. Now before *Mounts* hee entrenched all his quarters, as though hee meant to bee besieged; and not without reason, hauing intelligence how Mounseieur *Ianlis* marched for their succours with seauen thousand Frenchmen, and the Prince of *Orange* making ready a mighty armie in *Germany*. After his arriual, the next day hee prepared to beate the Cloyster; vnto which place hee brought sixe pieces of Cannon. Mounseieur *de Poiet* resolved before not to keep the place, but to winne time in forcing them to place the Cannon. This Cloyster was so nere the towne, that none could encampe betwixt it and the towne, by reason of the townes artillerie, and of wet meadow grounds which could not be entrenched. Wherefore Mounseieur *de Poyet* did most brauely abide this whole dayes batterie, and in the night set the Cloyster on fire with a traine: and so retired himselfe and his troupes safely into the towne, leauing nothing behinde. Within few dayes Duke d'Alua beganne to make his approaches, in such sort that hee assured

affured the towne from falling (sauiug their secret sallies through the rampier & bul-workes) before he mounted his pieces to beate the forts and defences. The towne plagued him greatly with their counter-battery: and besides they often sallied, and annoyed them with sundry attempts on their artillery and trenches. With much ado, after receiuing great losses, he made three platformes.

The middest did batter the port of *Hauery*; the two others the flanks and parts of the Curtaines on both sides. Battereth the towne.

On these three platformes hee placed two and twentie Cannons, with which, and with his Culuerins that did beate the defences, he discharged during his siege about 24000. shot. The furie of all batteries are past at the first, I meane within two dayes: yea, commonly in one. The furie of the batterie.

For the defendants knowing the place, and the successe of the furie, will re-enforce their breaches & re-entrench themselves in such sort, that the assailants can doe small hurt with their approaches. The second day they battered: and hauing made their breach reasonable (as they thought) they prepared to the assault. A breach made.

The poynt fell by lot to the *Tertia* of *Lumbardy*, led by the valiant Moun- Preparation to the assault.

sieur of the Campe *Julian Romero*: who was seconded by the master of the Campe *Don Francisco de Baldeffo* and Julian Romero hath the poynt.

his *Tertia de la Ligue*; after him the regiments of *Wallons*, of the Marquesse of *Hauery*, Count *Barlemount*, Messieurs de *Lignes*, and of *Capers*. So were all the rest of the armie in battaile ready to second one another, according to their direction; with their whole Caualery in order of battaile, some quarter of a league from their trenches. Diuers had leauē to dismount themselves, who accompanied *Julian* at the poynt. The Count re-entrenched himselfe ouerthwart the breach with a halfe moone.

Preparation of the defendants.

Himselfe and some two hundred horsemen stood at the mouth of the great lane towards the breach; the rest of his horsemen were in three troupes, making *Patroiles* (rounds we call it) from place to place round about the towne. As one troupe came vnto him, hee sent another out. Mounſieur *de la Noue* stood with the armed men in the midst of the halfe moone. Mounſieur *de Poyet* stood on the one quarter of the moone, with halfe the shot. Mounſieur *de Roueres* on the other with the rest. At euery corner of the moone they placed diuers pieces of Ordinance, laden with nayles, small bullets, and stones; which flanked the mouth of the breach. *Julians* Captaines would not giue place one to another, more then the Collonells, but by lot. After knowing who should lead, and the breach discovered faultable, *Julian* commanded the poynnt to the assault: which were suffered to enter. But being in the midst of the moone, they were murdered like dogs; in such sort, that happie was hee that could retire first. Notwithstanding *Julian* aduanced with all courage with his seconds: but being on the breach, and hauing discovered their trenches and workes within, he caused his troupe to retire, not without losse. For all their small shot playd incessantly vpon his troups. At this assault the Spaniards courage was quailed from assaulting any more. *Julian* elcaped with great danger, hauing sundry Harquebushes on his armes. His Lieutenant Collonell was slaine, with fise of his principall Captaines, and the braueſt part of his souldiers; besides many aduenturers as well horsemen as footemen, which were not of his regiment. The Count escaped not freely, for diuers of his best men were slaine; especially Mounſieur *de Roueres* shot in the head with a musket.

Duke

The assault.

The retreat.

Julian *Roueres*
danger & losse.

The Counts
losse.

Roueres slaine.

Duke d'Alua perceiuing the valure and conduct of *Lodowicke* and his men, resolued not to force his breach, but cunningly attempted them often with alarmes and counterfeit assaults; in such sort that hee spoyled many of the defendants with his artillerie, in presenting themselves on the breach.

D'Alua will no more assault.

At this instant Mounseur *Ianlis* was marching with his succours, in number (as I said before) seauen thousand French, all footemen; sauing some foure hundred horsemen. Being arriued hard by *Valentia*, Duke d'Alua sent *don Frederico* with his Marciall *Chiapine Vitelly*, accompanied with one thousand five hundred horsemen, and foure thousand footemen; himselve remained in strong trenches with all the rest in armes, who being all together were about one and twenty thousand footemen, and three thousand horsemen. Mounseur *Ianlis*, although he was a most gallant souldier, at this re-encounter shewed small discipline: *Vitelly* hauing intelligence of his march and order.

The overthrow of *Ianlis*.

Duke D'Alua's forces.

Don Frederico being arriued at *Saint Gellane*, some two leagues from *Mounts*, hearing *Ianlis* was in march, and that he meant to passe that way within tenne howers; *Vitelly* desired him to leaue all his men in ambush in that place in troupes, on both sides of the high waies. Hauing finished his orders, he commanded his nephew *John Battisto del Mownte*, Lieutenant generall of the horsemen, to march with five hundred horsemen halfe Launciers, the rest *Herguleters*, giuing him in charge to march in three troupes softly, vntill his Curriers should meete his enemies: then to returne one troupe after another without ingaging himselve to fight, vnlesse the enemy would enforce him; but to vse all meanes to bring them engaged

Chiapine Vitelly lies ambush to entrap *Ianlis*.

His order to traine him to it.

The order put
in execution.

The French
fall into the
ambush.

The disorder
of the French
march.

Many escapeth.

vnto the ambush ; then to run with his troupes as though hee were afraid, aside of the ambush. Hee was not two leagues from *Vitelly*, but his Curriers met the French : who according to their accustomed furie charged the Spanish Curriers, and they according to their direction retyred before them ; so did their second, and *Battisto* himselfe with the third ; bringing them in his taile vnto the place directed. By this time all or the most of the French horsemen were arriued, charging *Battisto* his troupes who could first ; perswading themselves all to be theirs. *Vitelly* like a discreet Capitaine, desired *don Frederico* to suffer them to runne vntill they were entred into the ambush of five hundred musketers, which stood vnder a hedge where they must passe ; and being entred, to charge them with halfe the horsemen, which stood equally diuided on both sides of the way. By that time the French were entred the ambush of Musketers ; and perceiuing the squadrons of Launciers aduancing towards them, they beganne to retyre and to double their pases backe ; but withall *don Frederico* charged. *Iohn Battisto* being on the other side turned also ; so did *Vitelly* second with the rest ; in such sort, that presently their few horsemen were forced to runne through their owne footemen, which brake in a short time ; for they marched farre a sunder (as they said) two leagues from their first troupes vnto their last. Besides, they had no companies of pikes to make any stand ; especially their horsemen being broken. Mounseur de *Mouie* escaped into *Mounts* by reason of the woodland Countries. Few returned into *France*, because the Peasants murthered them in cold blood. After the ouerthrow, the greatest part of them were executed. *M. Ianlis* with diuers Gentlemē resisted

fisted valiantly: but at the last he was mastered, & carried ^{Launio prisoner.} prisoner into the Castle of *Antwerpe*. Where himselfe and an English Gentleman taken with him, named ^{Executed at Antwerpe.} master *John Winkfield* were executed long afterwards. Duke *d'Alua* hearing that the Prince of *Orange* was readie to march with tenne thousand Reysters, and twelue thousand Launce-Knights, besides diuers fugitiue *Netherlanders*, commanded his Officers to strengthen his trenches with all speed, as well towards the towne as the field: giuing order that all the munition and victuals that might ^{D'Aluaes order against his arri- uall.} be gotten should be brought into his Campe, and that his horsemen should bring in all the forage they could, and spoyle the rest. For he resolved to stay in the field, and at least to famish either the Prince or the Towne; giuing charge vnto all men not to ingage any skirmish or fight, but to make the town frō sallying forth. The Prince arrived wth his armie mentioned before, without any let to speake of, vntill he encamped on the top of the hills toward *Valentia*, within halfe a league of Duke *d'Aluaes* trenches. At whose sight the Duke gaue straight charge, that none should sally out of his trenches; giuing the Prince leaue to encampe quietly without skirmishing. That night the Prince sent often diuers troupes vnto the Dukes trenches, thinking to keepe his army in armes; but none seemed to stirre, or to take an alarme. The next morning the Prince sent great troupes of horse and foot to procure the enemy to sally; standing himselfe with the rest in order of battaile in sight of the towne and of Duke *d'Alua*; but none would sally out of the trenches: ^{Attempt to Duke d'Aluaes trenches.} In such sort, that the Prince dislodged with his whole forces, resolving to force their trenches, or to lose not a few of his best men. Being in order of batraile neere

VNTO

The *Almans*
forced to retire.

A second at-
tempt with
great losse.

vnto Duke d'Alua, hee sent his Martiall *Manderslo* with three thousand Launce-Knights, and three thousand Reyfters; giuing them order to charge the trenches, with all resolution. Being approached within musket shot of the Spanish and *Wallons*, the poore *Almans* courage beganne to quaille, not without reason; finding better shot then themselves within the trenches, and their horsemen not seruiceable, vpon whom all their glory did rest. Notwithstanding that *Manderslo* and his troupes beganne to retire, the Lord of *Drume* the Princes Lieutenant, and Count *Holhocke*, with diuers others of quality, accompanied with many troupes of horse and foote, marched resolutely and attempted the trenches against reason. For receiuing hot salues of musketadoes, they were forced to retyre. At which attempt the Lord of *Drume* was slaine, with diuers others of quality, and a great number of their souldiers both horse and foote.

A Camifado
on the Princes
army by *Julian*
Romero.

Julian Romeroes
order for the
Camifado.

THE Prince being retyred into his Campe, *Julian Romero* with earnest perswasions procured licence of Duke d'Alua, to hazard a Camifado that night vpon the Prince. At midnight *Julian* sallied out of the trenches with a thousand musketiers, and two thousand armed men, most pikes; all the rest stood in armes in the trenches, their horsemen ready without the trenches to second *Julian*, principally for his retraite if need were. *Julian* diuided his forces into three troupes. The first two hundred olde shot, which could keepe their matches close, led by a desperate Captaine named *Munchecho*. The second one thousand armed men and shot, led by *Julian* himselfe. The third led by his Lieutenant Collonell and Sergeant Maior; whom he commanded to stand fast in the

the midst of their way betwixt the two Campes for his retere, and not to stir vnlesse some of credit came from him to command the contrarie. Presently after his directions, he commanded *Muncheco* to charge; who resolutely forced two guards, being at the least a regiment of *Almaines*. *Julian* seconded with all resolution, in such sort, that hee forced all the guards that he found in his way into the place of armes before the Princes tent. Here he entred diuers tents; amongst the rest his men killed two of the Princes secretaries hard by the Princes tent, and the Prince himselfe escaped very narrowly.

He chargeth.

Only not seeth vpon the princes person.

FOR I heard the Prince say often, that as hee thought, but for a dog he had bene taken. The *Camisado* was giuen with such resolution, that the place of armes tooke no alarme, vntill their fellowes were running in with the enemies in their railes. Whereupon this dogge hearing a great noyse, fell to scratching and crying, and withall leapt on the Princes face, awaking him being asleepe, before any of his men. And albeit the Prince lay in his armes, with a lackey alwaies holding one of his horse ready bridled; yet at the going out of his tent, with much adoe hee recovered his horse before the enemy arriued. Neuerthelesse one of his *Quiries* was slaine taking horse presently after him; and diuers of his seruants were forced to elscape amongst the guards of foote, which could not recover their horses. For troth, euer since, vntill the Princes dying day, he kept one of that dogs race; so did many of his friends and followers. The most or all of these dogs were white little hounds, with crooked noses, called *Camuses*. The Campe being in armes and in

A dog seeth the Prince.

The princes care of himselfe.

He recovereth his horse hardly.

Julian retireth.

As hardly be-
stead.

Yet he saued
himselfe & his
troupes.

Julians counsell
to defeat the
Princes army.

The danger of
following it.

The retireite of
the Prince of
Orange, and his
fine stratageme
and speeches to
escape from his
mutinous ar-
my.

some order, made head towards *Julian* in such sort, that he commanded the retireit. Before he could recouer his stand with his Lieutenant, the armie beganne to charge him in great troupes; in such sort, that with much adoe he could arriue with his troupes; and for all his good order, hee lost many of his men, as well taken as slaine. Hauing recouered his stand, with the presence of the two thousand horsemen, which came for his retireit, the *Nasawians* followed no further.

Without doubt had Duke *d'Alma* followed *Julians* counsell, the Prince had beene defeated in that place. *Julian* aduised that all their horsemen and halfe their footemen should haue beene in a stand, where he left his Lieutenant, and himselfe with his three thousand to enter the Princes Campe: that hauing good successe, the stand should haue entred also. For my part I am of *Julians* minde; but the wisest sort are of Duke *d'Almas*. Although *Julians* courage assured him victorie, Duke *d'Alma* had reason not to hazard his forces in battaile; being assured the Prince would be forced to retire with wants. For if the Prince and his armie had beene in armes and in order, it must haue sorted to a battaile, hauing made halfe his armie to runne: and perhaps by that meanes the Prince might haue succoured the Towne. For without doubt let two armies incampe one hard by another, the first that discountenanceth his fellow, is in great hope of victorie; or at least by all reasons to make his aduersarie to retire. This Camisado quailed the poore *Almaines* in such sort, that the Prince was glad to vse all the policie he could to retire; thinking the sooner the better, for feare least his Reisters would grow to their olde custome, to cry for *gile*, which he had not. To preuent all mutinies, he caused

caused his officers & many of his best instruments to giue forth, that his brother Count *John* was arriued with five hundred Reisters by *Ruremount*; and with great treasure (sufficient to pay all his forces for three moneths) from the *Queenes* Maiestie, the King of *Denmarke*, and the *Germane* Princes of the religion. His Campe being thoroughly furnished with these speeches, he dislodged the next day; making all the haste he could to recouer the *Mase*. Wichall he aduertized his brother of his fortune, desiring him to make the best shift for himselfe that hee could.

His retreat.

The Prince being arriued by *Ruremount*, hauing intelligence with diuers townes in *Holland*, fed his armie with good speeches: assuring them that his brother Count *John* was at *Serenbarke*, with his brother in law the Count of *Bergue*; and that hee would send for them to make his passage ouer the *Mase*, where his brother Count *Lodowick* would arriue; whom he looked for daily to come from *Mounts*.

After the Princes retreat, Count *Lodowicke* finding no remedie, beganne to parle; but stood on most honourable tearmes. Duke *d'Alua* knowing him to bee a most honourable resolute man, and the towne not to be taken by furie, fearing delayes would grow to disaduantage, accepted his parle, agreeng to such conditions as pleased the Count: In such sort, that *Lodowicke* and his garrison was to passe ouer the riuier of *Mase*, where his brother the Prince was staying for him. Being met, resolution was taken that *Lodowicke* should passe into *Germanie*, and the Prince into *Holland*. The Prince fearing the worst, passed the riuier by night, with a few Gentlemen: Amongst others Sir *William Morgan* was one. The

Count *Lodowicke* composition for *Mounts*.

He cometh to his brother the Prince.

The Prince departeth from his army by night.

Princes Lodaine departure gaue a great murmuring amongst the Reisters. Notwithstanding, he wrote a letter to his brother, to assure him that he would content them with all speed possible, and that his going into *Holland* was principally to seeke meanes to pay them; giuing to his brother leaue and authority to sell all that hee had in *Germany*, rather then hee should bee disgraced with false promises. This letter being read openly gaue some contentment vnto the armie; but principally the person of Count *Lodowick* stayed them, whom they much honoured and respected, knowing no fault to be in him.

Malins recei-
ueth the Prin-
ces garrison.

I forgot to write how *Malins* accepted a garrison of the Prince, as some of his forces passed by it in going to *Mounts*; which afterwards retyled with the Prince. Duke d' *Alua* for their reward after the taking of *Mounts*, sent his master of the Campe *Iulian Romero*, with his *Tertia* of *Lumbardy* and others, who entred the towne, and sacked it to the vttermost.

Is sacked by the
Duke d' *Alua*:
appointment.

THE beginning and ending of this siege was most honourable, although vnfortunate. Sometimes great Captaines wrong themselves. Had the Count left either Mounfieur de la *Noue*, or Mounfieur de *Roueres*, or Mounfieur de *Poyet* gouernour in *Mounts*, and retyled himselfe with the other to prepare their succours, by all reason it had bene farre beter. For the least of the three had been sufficient to command the towne, and the two others would haue stood the succours in good stead: I meane the Prince and Mounfieur *Ianlis*. The onely way for the Prince had been to haue encamped before *Brussels*, which was a weake rich towne, vnfortified; where hee must haue forced Duke d' *Alua* either to leaue his siege to fight with

Lodowicks
encour.

The Princes
encour.

with him, or else to loose the towne: and not to attempa trenches which wanted no defence that could be desired. Touching Mounſieur *Janſie*, the world may iudge there might have beene better order at his deſeate.

The reuolt of Fluſhing, the braue reſolution of Vorſt the Sea-man; and of the Bailly, Mounſieur de Berland, in ſeizing on the Towne, and in executing Signiour Pacheco.



Vring the ſiege of *Mounts*, one Seignior *Pacheco* came from Duke *d'Alua*, with a Commiſſion to be Gouvernour of *Fluſhing* and of the *Ramkins*. *Pacheco* had alſo authoritie to execute diuers of the Inhabitants in *Fluſhing*, principally the Bailly Mounſieur *de Berland*,

Pacheco appointed Gouvernour of Fluſhing.

and *Vorſt* the famous Sea-man. At this inſtant they beganne the Cittadle of *Fluſhing*. *Pacheco* being let in with ſome of his fellowes, and the reſt at the gates; having intelligence with Mounſieur *de Beauoir* Gouvernour of *Middleburgh*, thought within three dayes to haue placed a garrilon of *Spaniards* and *Wallons* in *Fluſhing*, and then to haue finiſhed the reſt of his purpoſes at pleaſure. *Vorſt* beganne to miſtruſt the matter: Whereupon hee went to Mounſieur *de Berland*, telling him reſolutely that he would not ſtand to the Spaniſh government, nor truſt to their courteſies. Mounſieur *de Berland* beganne to leane to his opinion and to apprehend ſome feare; becauſe he had receiued diuers letters from his friends in

The Cittadle begunne.

A garrilon to be brought in.

Barland.

Conspire a-
gainst the Spa-
niards.

Seize vpon him.

Hang him with
Duke D'Aluaes
Commision a-
bout his necke.

And 19. of his
followers.

Brabant, that *Pacheco* would come to bee gouernour of *Flushing*, and that Duke *d'Alua* was informed of some matters against *Barland*, and the said *Vorst*, with diuers others. Hereupon Mounſieur *de Barland* and *Vorst* reſolued to lay hands on *Pacheco*, and to ſeize vpon the towne. Being reſpected, and greatly beloued of the popular, they made diuers acquainted with Duke *d'Aluaes* praſtiſes; and how *Pacheco* was the man that ſhould execute his determination. Preſently they gaue order to make good watch at the water-port, to preuent the entry of the *Spaniards*; who were hard by it with their armes in their hands, ready to enter. Withall they aſſembled all the Magiſtrates and Burgeſſes into their Towne-houſe: whether they ſent for *Pacheco*, making him belieue they would obey all his directions, conditionally that hee would ſhew them his authority. *Pacheco* being arriued amongſt them, Mounſieur *de Barland* asked him for his Commiſſion. *Pacheco* ſhewed it. Withall *Vorst* layed hands on him, ſaying, *Shellum* Spaniard, thou haſt more directions then theſe. *Pacheco* ſtriuing with *Vorst*, *Vorst* and his companions threw him downe, giuing him and his followers ſtore of good blowes. Riſing *Pacheco*, they found about him all his directions; whereby diuers of them were to be executed. Preſently they carried Seignior *Pacheco* to the gallowes; where they hung Duke *d'Aluaes* Scurchion, at which they hanged *Pacheco*, with his Commiſſion about his necke; although *Pacheco* offered them aſſurance of tenne thouſand Duckers to haue his head ſtrucked off. They hanged alſo ſome five and twenty of his followers; bearing them with ſtones and cudgels all the way as they paſſed to the gallowes. Mounſieur *de Beauoir* arriued at the gates towards *Middleburgh* with

with some foure hundred *Wallons*, within two howers after the executing of *Pacheco*. The *Flushing*ers resolved to resist his entry. *Beauvoir* being a white-livered souldier rettyred into *Middleburgh*.

Beauvoir rettyred to *Middleburgh*

Withour doubt had he shewed any valour, he might haue entred. For at that instant *Flushing* was nothing fortified to speake of, fauing towards the water. The rest was a lowe greene rampier, without Flankes, Parapet, or Ditch (but such as men of any resolution might haue entred) or any pieces mounted towards the land, vnlesse it were some paultry rusty olde Clinkes, which a man would as readily choose in a maner to stand before, as behinde, at their going off. Presently the *Flushing*ers fell to working night and day on their rampier; and drew diuers pieces of Ordinance out of their ships, and mounted them thereon. They dispatched also letters into *England* and *France* for succors, with a few crownes. *Flushing* was in those daies (God knowes) a poore beggerly Towne of Fishing, in respect of that it is now: without Towne, fort, fortresse, or Village to friend in all that Countrey.

Beauvoir want of resolution. *Flushing* vnfortified.

The Burgesse fortifie.

As God would, there were diuers followers of the Prince of *Orange*, and of his brother Count *Lodowicke*. Some were Sea-men, named by the enemies Freebotters; but some of them were resolute gallant Gentlemen: namely Mounsieur *de Lambres*, *de Skonnall*, *Batelesia Ruchable*, &c. These were Sca-Captaines, rousing out of their Countries where fortune serued them best, in the Prince of *Oranges* name. There were also diuers *Wallons* and *Flemmings* which kept the woodes of *Flaunders*, not knowing how to escape; namely the Captaines *Barnard*, *Ely*, *Ambrose Duke*, and others. Hearing of the

Succours into *Flushing*.

Wallons &
Flemmings 400.

the revolt of *Flushing*, they marched directly thither; and at a place named *Meerehauen* they made a strong trench : In which place they remained not three dayes but the *Flushingers* sent their boates to fetch them. The Captaines *Barnard*, *Ely*, and *Ambrose Duke* being entred *Flushing*, with some foure hundred *Wallons* and *Flemmings* well armed, did something assure the towne. Some of these had good vnderstanding in the warres: principally in fortificatiō, they did helpe the townsmen greatly ; in such sort that they mounted their pieces in good order, and mended their fortifications.

Captaine Thomas Morgan comes to Flushing, which was the first English band that serued the Neatherlanders against the Spanish King.

A muster before the
Queene at
Greenwich.



T this time there was a faire muster of *Londoners* before the Queenes Maiestie at *Greenwich*. Amongst the *Londoners* were diuers Captaines and souldiers, who had serued some in *Scotland*, some in *Ireland*, others in *France*. And hauing nothing to doe, with the countenance of some great men who fauoured the cause, and the small helpes of the deputies of *Flushing*, Captaine *Thomas Morgan* leuied a faire company of three hundred strong ; amongst whom were diuers Officers which had commanded before, with many Gentlemen, at the least aboue one hundred, amongst which my selfe was one. This band was the first that serued the *Neatherlanders*;

ders; I meane since Duke *d'Alua* came to be Gouvernor Duke *d'Alua*
 and Capitaine generall of the *Neatherlands*. Capitaine sendeth forces
Morgan and his Company arrived in good time: For at against *Flushing*
 his arrival *Flushing* was in distresse. For Duke *d'Alua*
 had sent forces of *Wallones* and *Spaniards* vnder the
 conduct of *Don Ruffello*, to second Mounſieur de *Beau-*
noir; who had commaund to entrench themſelves on
 the Dike towards the *Rampkins*. Had they done it, the
 towne could not haue cut the ditch, as they did after-
 wards; and Duke *d'Alua* was to second them with
 all his whole forces. But hearing how the *Engliſh* were He pauſeth vp-
 arrived in greater numbers then we were indeed, Duke on the arrivall
d'Alua ſtaid, to march in good order, and with great of the *Engliſh*.
 meanes: For he wanted a number of ſea prouiſions. Al-
 ſo *Beauoir* and *Ruffello* hearing of our arrivall, made no
 haſte to march. In the meane time there arrived from
Rochell three faire Companies, ledde by the Captaines
Henry, *Triſtan* and *Vtiran*: of which one was leuied
 for Mounſieur de *Saras*, who was appointed Go-
 uernour of *Fluſhing* by letters from the Prince of *O-*
range. Theſe troupes beeing arrived, we thought our
 ſelves aſſured in the towne. Belike Duke *d'Alua* was of- Beauoir & Ruf-
 fended with *Beauoir* and *Ruffello*, not without reaſon; fellows ſauvages.
 For not two Captaines could doe their Generall worſe
 ſeruice then they did. For without doubt they might
 haue lodged on the ditch before the arrivall of Capitaine
Morgan; beſides the cowardlinets of *Beauoir*, for not for-
 cing the towne when *Pacheco* arrived. Perceiuing Duke
d'Alua to be in choler, they (to repaire their fault) reſol- They endea-
 ued to attempt the ditch. And to doe it the better, they uour to amend
 their faults.
 thought good to mount certaine Culuerings on a forced By attempting
 hill (I meane made with mens hands) which ſtood the dike.
 ſome

some halfe a mile from the towne, betwixt the way of *Middleburgh* and the dike; I meane the fourth dike from *Flushing* to *Middleburgh*. *Beauoir* kept some 200 *Wallones* in a strong house, halfe way betwixt *Middleburgh* and *Flushing*. This place was guardable without batterie. Into this place *Beauoir* and *Ruffello* brought their forces, which might be some 2500 *Spaniards* and *Wallones*. Out of that place they aduanced at midnight; leauing their great troupe hidden out of the high-way, within a quarter of a mile of the said hill. At the break of day, they sent some 100 shot towards the hill. The garrison perceiuing their meaning, sallied with about 700 *English*, *French* and *Wallones*; who were desired & commanded by *Saras* to digge downe the hill. According to direction the garrison aduanced; and beeing approached, the enemy retired. Our men beeing at work, the enemy aduanced some 400 shot, which entered into hot skirmish. Ours followed them so fast, that their ambush was faine to discover themselves for their safeguard; at whole sight ours retired in good order, by reason halfe our men made a stand, for the retireit of those which charged. After this skirmish, *Saras* discovering the number of enemies, retired the garrison into the towne; not without reason. For hee thought hee marched to besiege vs; and knew no other, but that the most of their army might be at *Middleburgh* or there abouts. Our men so behaued themselves at this skirmish, that the enemy lost three for one; notwithstanding the enemy tarried in the place, and after dinner made as though they would take the hill. The morning skirmish liked our Capitaines so well, as they desired the *Gouernours* leave to sally. Which earnest request was granted, vpon condition,

They lay in
ambush.

The garrison
sallieeth.

Beateh back
the shot of the
Spaniards.

The losse of
the *Spaniard*.

Another sally
to dislodge the
enemy.

dition, not to engage themselves too farre. Whereupon the Gouvernour and the Capitaines mounted on the Ram- pier, to direct their fight. Having resolved, Capitaine *Morgan* and our Englishmen had the vanguard. To make the skirmish the more honourable, we sallied with our Ensignes; the *French-men* were to second vs; the *Wallones* and *Flemmings* last; The whole were in number some 800. Capitaine *Morgan* beeing arrived within a great musket shot from the enemy, made a stand, and advanced his shot forwards: giving them commande- ment to stand also, vntill hee commanded them, or the enemy forced them. Hee placed his armed men on both sides of the bridge, leauing a ditch betwixt them and the enemy: and stood himselfe with a troupe of gentlemen on the Causeway before the bridge. The two troupes of *French-men* and *Wallons* placed themselves in meadows, on both sides of the causeway; leauing their few armed men right against Capitaine *Morgan*. They placed their shotte in ditches, a little before their armed men; sa- uing some 100. whom they directed to enter into skir- mish when the *English* began. Our order was scarce di- rected, but the enemy charged our men very hotly; in such sort, that all or the most part of both parties shotte were by the eares. Notwithstanding that theirs were twice so many, ours quit themselves very valiantly; vntill a great Squadron of their armed men advanced, which forced our *English* shot to retire: by reason that most of the *English* shot skirmished on the causeway, & hard by it on both sides, where the enemies could ioyne with them. At this sight Capitaine *Morgan* and his armed men advanced resolutely to the push of the pike: and so did the *French* and *Wallones* shot flank amongst them their

The *English* haue the van- guard.

Captaine *Mor- gans* order for the skirmish.

The enemy chargeth the *English* very hotly. Who acquit themselves va- liantly. The retire.

Captaine *Mor- gan* at the push of the pike.

The enemies
retireth,

vollies, that they plagued them greatly; in such sort that the enemy aduanced no further. To say truth, they could not ioyne with ours, by reason ours kept the ditches and bridge. Perceiuing they could not force our quarter, the enemy retired; but stood fast, within a great musket shot of the place. *Saras* perceiuing the enemies minde, thinking they would charge againe, and fearing wee had lost more then we did, sent vnto ours to retire; which they did with good order into the towne, with small losse in respect of the skirmish; which endured very hor and almost the space of two houres; In which time our men came twice to the push of the pike. Once

Captaine *Morgan*'s
ensigne
rescued,

the enemy had holde on Captaine *Morgan*'s Ancient, which was rescued brauely by *George Browne* and diuerse other young gentlemen. Master *Mackwilliams*, *Bastock*, with other gentlemen were slaine, with some fifty *English* souldiers: and as many or more hurt of the *French* and *Wallones*. So they killed and hurt some 100. of which were many gentlemen and officers. Some prisoners were taken on both sides. By the enemies own confession they had slaine and hurt about 400. whereof some were of good account.

The enemies
losse.

The

The surprize of the Brill in Holland, by Mounſieur de Lumay Count de la Marke.



T this instant Mounſieur de Lumay otherwise called the Count De la Marke, being on the coast of England with the Prince of Oranges directions, finding the Sea-men named before; I meane Lambert, Batelentia, Rouchable, and Skonall; they made a partie

betwixt them to take the Brill in Holland. True it is, the Prince of Orange had intelligence with most townes in Holland; but not with the Brill, that euer I could learne. At this time there were but few Spaniards in Holland; in the Brill some hundred; in diuers other places so many or fewer. Hereupon this Count de la Marke and these Captaines gathered into some eight sayles (the most Fly-boats) seauen hundred Wallons, Dutch, some English and Scots; all Mariners. Arriuing at the Brill, they landed; hauing Drummes, Trumpets, and Ensignes with them, sufficient to haue furnished thrice their numbers. At their sight, the simple Spanish Gouvernour thought himselfe betrayed; iudging that these troupes would neuer haue come thither without intelligence with the townesmen. The rest of the Spanish made proude faces, as though they meant to abide their furie and siege: Notwithstanding, they signified a feare vnto the Burgesſes, in sending their baggage and women towards Roterdam. The Count and his Captaines approached with courage; and withall landed three Pieces out of their ships, with straw, pitch, and wood. He approached

Count De la Marke attempted to take the Brill.

Landeth his men.

The Spanish countenance.

The Count sh- shed the gate, and put the same soone on fire. In the
 ereth the gate. meane time the Spaniards escaped towards *Roterdam*.
 The towne en- Thus was the *Brill* wonne without blowes; in such sort,
 tred. that all *Holland* revolted, sauing *Amsterdam*: but diuers
 The Princes townes would accept no garrison. Norwithstanding, the
 courtesie to the Prince politickely wrote vnto the Count, to vse them
Hollanders. with all courtesie agreeing with their humors; suffering
 them to doe what they listed, as well for religion as for
 The Counts gouernement; whereby he gained all their hearts. For
 disorder. at that instant the most of the popular were Papists. The
 Count *De la Marke* had almost marred all with his go-
 uernement. For albeit hee was valiant and liberall, yet
 was hee lasciuious, wilfull and obstinate; in such sort,
 Towards wo- that he would enioy any wench or woman that pleased
 men. him. Also hee called an Abbot and his Fryers into a
 Towards the Chamber, where hee forced them to denie their Masse
 Papists. and to preach against it, in case they would not be han-
 ged. Besides these, he committed many other disorders:
 So as his insolency had almost thrust the Prince and his
 faction out of *Holland*.

The Flushingers growe in icalousie against *Saras* their *Gouernour*, offering his place vnto *Captaine Morgan*, who refused it for loue hee bare vnto *Saras*: otherwise he had small reason in doing it.



He *French*, *Wallons* and *Dutch* which were in *Flushing*, had beene for the most part in the warres before: and diuers of the basest sort would take any thing they could carry away, and liued at farre greater charges to the *Burgessees* then the *Englisch* did. For

indeed the *Englisch* at that time were rawe, and looked for no more then bare victuals, lodging, and promise of pay. Hereupon the *Burgessees* grew in great liking with our Nation: Insomuch that for a small suspect, they would haue made *Capt. Morgan* their *Gouernor*, & haue cashiered *Saras*; hauing no occasion, but that he had a brother that dwelt amongst the enemies, whom the enemies forced to write vnto the *Gouernor*, to perswade him, to run a course on their sides. Without doubt, *Saras* was honest vnto the cause: For his brothers message and letters came no sooner vnto him, but he shewed them vnto his *Captaines* and the principall *Burgessees*. Also this was hee that commanded afterward chiefly in *Harlem*. *Captaine Morgan*, finding this man honest vnto him, friended him also vnto the popular; refused their offer, and maintained *Saras* what hee could in his place. Notwithstanding, fewe men of warre would haue done it; vnlesse a man had beene greatly beholding vnto him; I meane farre more then hee was to *Saras*; considering

The ciuill behauour of the *Englisch*.

The *Flushingers* affection towards them.

They suspect *Saras*, & would make *Captaine Morgan* *Gouernour*.

Who maintaineth *Saras*.

what

Is not ambitious.

Sir Humphrey
Gilbert the first
English Colo-
nel in the Lowe
Countries.

what a rich strong gouvernement *Flushing* was. To say
troth, this Captaine had neuer any great ambition in
him; although fortune presented faire vnto him often,
beside this time. Also immediately he wrote letters in-
to *England*, which shewed the strength and goodnesse of
the place. Withall he procured Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* to
come ouer, to bee Colonell ouer the *English* souldiers:
which hee might haue easily obtained himselfe. Here-
upon Sir *Humphrey* contracted with the *Flushingers*, to
come vnto them with one thousand five hundred *Eng-
lish*; besides those who were with them before. In the
meane time, the Count *De la Marke* assured the most
part of *Holland*.

The

Roterdam surprized by the Count of Bossue, by the meere simplicity of the Burgeses; where the Count sheweth great cruelty upon the poore people: which was the occasion that all or the most of the Townes in Holand receiued either Garrisons or Gouvernours; principally Dort, which was resolved before to the contrarie. But after this cruelty, they suffered themselves easily to bee surprized by the Count De la Marke.



Roterdam being without garrison, the Count Bossue approached it with some troupes of Spaniards and Wallons from Vricke. Being arriued within a quarter of a league, he placed his troupes in ambush, at a little Castle in a small woode on the riuier side to-
Count Bossue towards Roter-
dam.
Lyeth in am-
bush.

wards Dordrecht; leauing with them his Lieutenant gouernour, and giuing him charge at the shooting of Piccos to dislodge with all speed towards the towne. The Count being Gouvernour of Holland and off Vricke came to the gates, with some two hundred Wallons and Flemmings; and leauing them within tenne score of the port, went himselfe vnto the port with some tenne or twelue Gentlemen, offering to enter. They shut the wicket against them. He shewed them, how hee was
Cometh to
the gates.
is refused.
 their Gouvernour and Country-man; aduised them not to deale so, and to looke vnto themselves; else he

K

would

Desireth to
speake with the
Burgomasters.

He speaketh
with them.

Their answer.

The Count
snares the
Guarde with
wine.

They open the
wicket.

Hee rusheth in.

Seizeth the
port.
Takesh the
Market-place.

would make them know him : Withall he desired some of the Burgesles to goe fetch the Burgomasters vnto the port, that hee might speake with them. In this Towne there was no garrison, but Burgesles; poore men of warre, as you may iudge by their gouernement. The Burgomasters being arriued, the Count vsed fine speeches to perswade them to let him enter with those men, to saue them from the Heretickes, as hee feared the Prince of *Oranges* faction. They answered, that they durst doe nothing without the consent of their Burgesles in generall; and that they would assemble themselues presently in their Towne-house, and vse their best meanes to perswade them to follow his directions; promising to returne presently vnto him. Being departed, this Count, who was a good souldier and of good vnderstanding, knew the multitude would cry against the *Spanish*: wherefore he thought the sooner hee beganne his play, the better. And first hee did deliuer some pieces of gould vnto the Guarde; desiring them to fetch him good store of Wine and Beere: the which was brought, presently. Hee and his company beganne to carowse one with another, and with the Guarde; in such sort that they opened the little Wicket to speake with the Count. Beeing armed vnder his Coate, and valiant, hee gaue signall vnto his troupes, and therewith rushed in with some fise or sixe Gentlemen, giuing blowes of Pistols and Swords on the poore Guarde; In such sort, that his two hundred entred, and kept the port vntill the ambush named before entred. Then hee marched vnto the Market-place, executing all hee could
finde

finde in his way ; thence through the towne as pleased him : where hee slue a great number, and sacked what he list. In this sort (God knowes) he soone mastered the towne. The Prince of *Orange* hearing this, acquainted many of his friends with this action of Count *Bossue* ; shewing, that hee knew he would doe the like in other places, vnlesse good guardes were kept ; which could neuer bee without some garrison, or at the least Gouvernours that vnderstood the warres. In those dayes the names of Souldiers were odious vnto them. Notwithstanding, they feared the *Spaniards* so much, that rather then to accompanie with them, they would accept Diuels. Whereupon diuers agreed to accept garrisons : and the most of all to receiue Gouvernours, except *Dort*. But finally the Prince so vsed the matter with them, that all were content that *Dort* should bee surprized ; but not with murder and sacke, as the Spanish did at *Rotterdam*. After this resolution, the Prince wrote vnto the Count of *Marke*, and his Captaines, to doe the best they could to surprize *Dort*. Withall hee wrote vnto him, both to desire and to command him, to vse the Burgeses with all courtesie ; assuring them of *Holland*, to redresse all the Counts abuses at their next meeting, which should be before long ; sending them the Copie of his letters to the Count. In the meane time hee vndertooke the Count should leaue his insolency, and bee guided by the Princes directions. The Count made ready a great number of skutes, hauing placed some thousand Souldiers among them, with a great number of Trumpets and Ensignes ; leauing the *Brill*

Sacketh the Towne.

The Prince perswadeth other townes to garrisons.

They accept them.

The Prince prometh reformation of Count *De la Marke*.

The Count
takes *Swimeland*.

Countess *Dort*.

Three more
English com-
panies.

notwithstanding in good order of defence: for his victory encreased his forces. He tooke *Swimeland*, right against *Dort*. The next morning before day hee landed his men at the head, before the faire, strong and rich Towne of *Dort*, invincible without famine or treason; having in it a garrison and munition, with a good Gouvernour. This fortunate wilfull Count with his shews and lookes entred the towne without blowes. By this time the Counts deputies had sent him three English companies, vnder the conduct of the Captaines *Moris*, *Driscoll*, and *Read*.

The

The arriual of Sir Humfrey Gilbert: which was the first Regiment of English-men that serued the Netherlanders against the Spanish King; with our follies before Bruges and Sluce.



SO Collonell Gilbert arriued at *Flushing* with ten *English* bands: at whose arriual *Flushing* was most assured. Hearing that the towne of *Mouuts* was in great distresse, & of the Prince of *Oranges* retireit, with his successe; *Saras* and Collonell Gilbert deuised their best meanes to relieue Count *Lodowicke*; Hauing a litle intelligence with some *Burgeses* of *Bruges*. *Saras* and Sir *Humfrey* resolved to enter *Flanders*: And so leauing a good garrison in *Flushing*, they landed at *New-hauen*, right against *Flushing*, some 1400 *Englishmen*; 400 *Wallons* and *Flemmings*, with some 600 braue *Frenchmen*, newly arriued from *Ro-* With 1400
shell vnder the conduct of the Captaines, *Larinere*, *Gen-* men.
sane and others. Presently we tooke our march towards *Sluce*: & beeing arriued at a village called *Ardenburgh*, we resolved there to stay; both to prooue if wee could doe any good on *Sluce*, and to haue further intelligence from *Bruges*. This place was a league from *Sluce*, and three leagues from *Bruges*. The next night *Saras* and Sir *Humfrey* sent some eight hundred *English*, *French* and *Wallones*; giuing them charge to keep themselves close as neare *Sluce* as they could, vntill they heard further from them. Before day wee placed our ambush neere
the

Collonell Gilbert
 at *Flushing*.

Saras and he
 entered *Flanders*.

They attempt
 to take *Sluce* with ambu-
 bush.

Knew not how
to take the ad-
uantage.

The garrison
fallieth.

Is beaten into
the towne.

The Gouvernor
ouerreacheth
the chiefs of
the *Flushingers*.

Dallieth with
them.

They approach
the towne.

He plagueth
them with his
ordnance.

the ports, in such sort, that at the opening of the gates (had our men knowne the warres then as diuers of them did since) wee might haue easily entred the towne. To say troth, those that sent vs were as ignorant as our selues: In such sort, that we did no more than we were commanded, which was to ly close. Notwithstanding diuers people came amongst vs; some wee tooke, and some we suffered to goe back againe. The enimie hauing discovered our numbers & lodging, sallied some 200 shor, where wee fell to hot skirmish. But all we were lodged in three places, not able to succour one another sodainly. Neuerthelesse, halfe our troupes charging them resolutely, forced them to run one after another into the ports. At this alarum, *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* hearing the artillery going off, marched with the rest. Beeing arriued, the Gouvernour like an olde souldier, politicly to win time to aduertise Duke d' *Alua*, held Sir *Humphrey* & *Saras* in a parley: as though hee meant to deliuer both towne and castle vnto them. Withall hee requested them to retire vnto their lodgings, where they were before; or else to lodge nearer where pleased them. Hereupon they retired to *Ardenburgh*, leauing their first troupes in a village hard by the towne. The next day our Gouvernours were desirous to haue the Captaine of *Sluce* his resolution; Who seeing he could not deferre them longer, requested them to take patience that day, and the next morning hee would keep promise with them. The next morning, ours marched with great glory to receiue the towne, as wee thought. Beeing hard by the port, the Gouvernour welcommed vs with a good volley of shor; making vs to retire faster than wee came; by

by discharging their artillery against vs. Having received some losse, *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* retired into *Ardenburgh*, to their griefe. With this stratageme the Gouvernour of *Sluce* wan foure dayes; in which time hee aduertised his Generall of our meaning: who sent the Count of *Reux* with certain horsemen into *Bruges*, and a good troupe of footmen marching after him. Notwithstanding, *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* dislodged with our forces, and marched vnto *Bruges*. At the breake of day, Sir *Humphrey* sent his trumpet to summon the towne. The trumpeters horse was kild with a shot from the Rampier: and they made answer vnto diuers gentlemen, who were approached neare the walls, that the Count *de Reux* desired all our troupes to stay where wee were; assuring vs, either within foure and twenty houres the Count would deliuer vs the towne, or finde means to hang vs all, at the least our confederates in the towne. Sir *Humphrey* was in great choler; swearing diuers oathes, that hee would put all to the sword, vnlesse they would yeeld. After staying some sixe or eight houres, *Saras* vnderstanding the warrs better then Sir *Humphrey*, perswaded him to retire: withall assuring him, vnlesse hee would doe it quickly and in good order, hee and his troupes would repent it. For the peasants aduertised him, there were diuers troupes of horsemen entred the towne, & a great number of footmen marched towards it, which would arriue within foure houres. Beeing in a march, wee doubled our pases in such sort, that wee recouered *Ardenburgh* that night. To say troth, the Count *Reux* was either a white flured souldier, or an ignorant

Aduertiseh
Duke d' Alua
with his purpose.

He strengthe-
neeth *Bruges*.

They summon
Bruges.

Count *de Reux*
answer.

Sir *Humphrey*
in a chafe.

The *Flushing*-
gers retire.

Come to *Ar-*
denburgh.

He executeth
the *Burgesses*.
The *Flushing*
gers stand at
Ardenburgh.

Hearke of a
conuoy.

Send to surpris
it a certaine
number of
souldiers.

Who laid an
ambush.

The order of
conuoy.

ignorant Captaine; else hee and his horsemen might haue slaine a great number of our men; our march was so disorderly. Insomuch, as had the Count beene a braue Captaine, with three hundred horsemen hee might haue defeated our troupes. After our retreat, the Count executed many *Burgesses*, who had intelligence with vs. *Saras* being arriued at *Ardenburgh*, we resolved to remaine there certaine daies. This place was such, that it might haue been kept against double our numbers. Besides, betwixt vs and *Flushing* wee had meadowes and wood-land countries: In such wise, that horsemen could not hurt vs marching in any good order. Resting in *Ardenburgh* two dayes, wee had intelligence that there was marching from *Gaunt* to *Bruges* sixteen peeces of artillery, with some munition, conducted with one of the Counts Captaines like himselfe. Whereupon *Saras* and Sir *Humsfrey* lent 300 *English*, *French* and *Wallones*, of the best sort; giuing the charge vnto *Rowland Torke*, Lieutenant to Captaine *Morgan*, and vnto *Tristan*, and *Ambrose Duke*, ouer the *French* and *Wallones*. Having receiued direction, wee marched foure leagues off; and placed our ambush by the breake of day, in the high way, where the conuoy was to passe. We had not staied eight houres, but wee might discouer the conuoy, which marched as followeth. Before, they had some fifty horsemen; behinde, as many, with a good band of footmen, *Wallones*; the artillery and munition in the midst. At their sight commandement was giuen vnto vs, to lie very close, vntill they were entred our ambush; which was on both sides of a great way, that passed through a small

small groue of wood. We had gotten some twenty or thirty iades or mares, which wee trimmed vp with olde saddles, cushings and halters, that wee got in Boores houses as wee passed. Those wee placed behinde the ambush; who had commandement to lie close, vntill the ambush discharged their volley: then to charge with all resolution. These iades were in the charge of *Ambrose Duke the Wallone*, an expert souldier; who had seene scruiue on horsebacke often before. The conuoy beeing entered the ambush, our volley went off in good order; in such sort that their first fifty horsemen ranne on their footmen. Withall, *Ambrose Duke* charged with the mares and iades: So did our footmen enter the high-waies against theirs; in such sort, that their horsemen ranne away, leauing their footmen & conuoy to be executed by vs: which were for the most part, with small losse, or none at all to our selues. Out of this place we arriued at *Ardenburgh* the next day, with all the artillery and munition, in like order as wee found them. By a bridge we staid, and tooke a great number of boates laden with wol-sackes and marchandize, which wee returned all into our quarter. To say troth, these three leaders named before, were the minions at all attempts of our troups in those daies. The next day after our arriuall at *Ardenburgh*, intelligence was brought, that *Mounts* was deliuered, and *Mallins* taken and lacked; and that *Julian Romero* was marching into *Flanders* to asist the Count of *Reux*, with 20 ensignes of footmen & some cornets of horsemen. This newes made vs not to take counsell twice for our retrair. Whereupon we marched with all speed towards *Flushing*.

It entreteth the
ambush.
Which breake-
th vpon it.

And defeateth
the Spaniards.

Conueying a-
way the mu-
nition.

The *Flushing*ers
retire to *Flush-
ing*.

Our first offer to assiege Tergoose, with our sodaine
retreat.

They resolute
to assiege Ter-
goose.



And their men

The Tergoose-
ans in ambush.

Pacheco Gouver-
nor of Tergoose.
The ambush
breaketh vpon
the English.

Being arriued right against *Flushing* at *Newhauen*, wee made stand; where *Saras* & *Sir Humfrey* tooke resolution to assiege *Tergoose*; which stands in an Iland of *Leland*, bordering on *Brabant*, and *Flanders*. Our shipping being arriued from *Flushing*, wee embarked and arriued the next day at night, by *Beereland*, a village of the said Iland. After, anchoring and giuing directions, *Rowland Yorke*, *Viran*, and *Ambrose Duke*, landed with their accustomed troupes or more; albeit diuers were slaine at the exploit of *Sluce* and the conuoy. The brauest youtnes desired to goe alwaies with the first; in such sort, that these were alwaies well accompanied. Beeing landed vpon the ditch which inuirones the Iland, the enemy perceiuing (as it is like) our nauy long before wee anchored, sallied the most of the souldiers out of the towne; and placed themselues in ambush, in a village hard by the place wee landed at, through which we must passe to goe to the towne. After *Saras* and *Sir Humfrey* were landed, the vanguard was giuen to Capitaine *Morgan*: and commandement to *Yorke*, *Viran*, & *Ambrose Duke*, to enter the village. The enemies hauing with them their Gouvernour, a braue Capitaine, named *Pedro Pacheco*, kept themselues close in the village, vntill *Yorke* and we entred the ambush. Then they deliuered a hotte volley of shot vpon vs, and withall charged

charged with some 100 pikes; in such sort, that with much adoe the one halfe of our troupes could recover the place where Captaine *Morgan* stood with our seconds. True it is, the enemy stood in the village round about the way where wee marched, and receiued vs at the entry of some 100 of ours into the village, out of the narrow way where wee passed, and could not march about siue in a rank; wherefore they found vs good cheape. Our retrait was so fast, that the enemy followed vs vpon the heeles, into the troupes which Captaine *Morgan* led: who charged them resolutely with his armed men, in such sort, that the enemies ran back. But wisely hee had placed halfe his men in the village, for his retreit; who deliuered their volley on Captaine *Morgan*; In such sort, that hee staied for *Saras* and Sir *Humfrey*, who were not within a mile, by reason they stood at the first alarum, and not without maruell: For I perswade my selfe, the most of them were afraid. I am to blame to iudge their minds; but let mee speake troth. I doe assure you, it was not without reason; for the most of vs who entred with *Yorke* were slaine: such as escaped, swam, and struggled thorough muddy ditches. Amongst other gentlemen, *Edward Argoll* was slain by Sir *Humfrey* his standard. The enemy recouered their towne; and all our troupes entred *Barland*, some two houres after their retreit. The next morning wee dislodged towards *Tergoose*. Our vanguard beeing arriued within halfe a mile of the towne, wee made a stand, vntill the rest arriued. In the meane time, the enemies sallied, and gaue furiously into our guards; forced our first guards to runne

Forced to retire.

Captaine *Morgan* chargeth them.

They retire.

The losse of the English.

The Flusshingers enter Barland.

Before Tergoose

The enemy sallied.

Is repulsed.

The order of
Pacheco.

Sir Humfrey
Gilberts order.

amongst our battels of pikes: which stood in a large place, by the house of the Count *Egmond*, hauing a bridge betwixt them and the enemy. Notwithstanding, Captaine *Morgan* with his braue shot entered an orchard, and flanked the enemy which stood on the high ditch, beating on our pikes with volleyes of shot. Withall, Sir *Humfrey* and his armed men passed the bridge, and charged the enemy with great resolution: In such sort, that the enemy fell to running. Notwithstanding, our men executed a great number; and amongst others, three *Spanish* Captaines, with diuerse other officers. We lost also diuerse of our men. You must think that in those daies few of vs, or of the enemy, knew the warres so well as since. For this *Pacheco* and his men quited *Ziricksea*, some seuen daies before; as a place not guardable. Also being Gouvernour of a towne, hee was to blame to sally with his garrison so farre as *Barland*, especially himselfe: for without doubt, had *Saras* and Sir *Humfrey* knowne of his being there with most of his troupes, and therewith giuen a right direction, it had cost him his towne, besides his defeat. Sir *Humfrey* should haue directed at least halfe his troupes, to cut betwixt them and the towne, at the first allarum. Some may say perhappes, there were no waies, or he knew of none. There were other waies, although not so neer. Besides, a Cōmander that enters the enemies countries, ought to know the places that he doth attempt: If not, he ought to be furnished with guides; especially in cōming to besiege a towne. But we were so ignorant, that we knew not our owne estate, much lesse the enemies. For the next day
after.

after our arrivall and skirmish, we marched to imbarke our troupes; allcaging we wanted artillery & munition, with all other necessities that belonged to a siege. Before our imbarking, the olde souldiers Captain *Gentaine* and *Hemie* the French-man vsed a fine stratageme.

*The Flushing-
ers retire to
their ships.*

They requested *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* to cause all their ensignes to imbarke, with the baggage, and a good number of souldiers; and to leaue in a Church, and in

*The ambush
by the French
Captaines.*

a Church-yard, and in a great Close adioyning, the most of their ablest men: and they to keepe close that day, to see if the enemy would sally, to cut off their rerc-guard and straglers. As they directed, *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* placed one thousand two hundred of their best men in that place; which was halfe wayes betwixt our quarter and the imbarking place, about a great league from the towne. Our ensignes were not all aboard, but *Pacheco* talied with the most of his garrison; which might be some foure hundred. Being ap-

*Disappointed
by a foolish
Officer.*

pronched our first ambush, who were *Wallons*; a foolish Officer contrary to direction discharged a volley of shot on the enemies, who were some quarter of a mile before their troupes, whereby all was marred. Belike our armed men gaue them such sound blowes in the last re-encounter, that they desired no more. So vpon this volley the enemy retired into their towne: and we embarked presently, not vnwilling for any thing I could perceiue. To say troth, our losses might bee in a

*The Flushing-
ers embarke.*

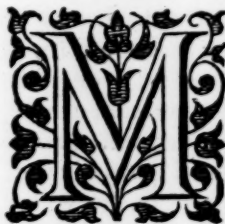
manner cōpared equal, from our landing to our imbarking. Let mee not wrong our Gouvernours too much. They said they were aduertized that *Tergoose* was voyd of garrison, sauing some hundred: and that they knew nothing

Land vnder
their towne,
March to
Southland.

Camfier reuolt-
ed.

nothing of *Pacheco*s arriual. Being embarked, we arriued at our towne of *Flushing*, where we landed vnder our towne, and marched to a Village named *Southland*; three leagues from *Flushing*, in the same Island. Before this time, *Camfier* reuolted also vnto the Prince of *Orange*, by reason of their Gouvernour Mounſieur de *Rouſe*.

The Camifado giuen, our troupes being lodged in Southland, by Mounſieur de Beauoir and Don Ruſello: where our men defended themſelves and overthrew the enimie moſt valiantly: with our ſecond ſiege of Tergoole, where we were defeated ſhamefully by the negligence and ignorance of our Gouvernour.



Mounſieur de Beauoir Gouvernour of *Middleburgh*, and don Ruſello hearing of our arriual in *Southland*, (belike *Pacheco* aduertized them that we had receiued greater loſſe then we did before *Tergoole*) thinking our courage qualified, prepared all their forces to defeat vs with a *Camifado*. To doe it the more terribly, they prepared a great number of haulters; giuing them to their ſouldiers with a commandement, to hang all the priſoners they ſhould take. The olde ſaying is true, It is no ſurety to reckon without an hoſt. Being ready, after direCTIONS giuen, they ſalied out of *Middleburgh*,
ſome

Some two thousand *Spaniards* and *Wallons*, at the shutting of their gates ; and tooke the next way towards the sandy hills, betwixt *Flushing* and *Southland*. As God would, certaine of the victualers discovering their march, cut their Mares out of their Waggon, by ^{wh}ch meanes they recovered *Southland* an hower before the enemy arriued ; which, next vnto the Almightyes will, saued all our troupes. Having the alarme, the enemies vanguard was in sight ; which presently charged our guards, making them to run into the Campe, and to quite the sandy hills. All their forces seconded with all speede very resolutely ; forcing our first and second troupes to runne into our place of armes, which was nere vnto the other side of the towne in a church-yard, and a large streete before it ; so as they wanne our artillery, turning the same towards vs. But resolutely our Officers gathered a sufficient number of armed men into the Market-place : who being ledde valiantly with braue Captains, charged the enemy, giuing them a retreit and defeat beyond our field-pieces. Here they came againe with a fresh charge ; but our armed men re-encountred them at the push of Pike most valiantly ; in such sort that the Ensigne-bearers *Philip Watkins*, *Thomas Louet*, *John Hamon*, with diuers others, brake their Ensigne-staues at the push of Pike : So our men gaue the enemy a full ouerthrow, driuing them cleane out of the Campe, and following them in defeate halfe way to *Middleburgh*. After, our men hung a number of them with their owne haulters. This piece of seruice was one of the best and worthiest encounters that our men had from that time to this hower, in all their warres.

The Victualers
giue aduertise-
ment.

Beauoir char-
geth the guards

Forceth them
to runne.

Winneeth the
Artillery.

Is beaten backe
Rechargeth.

Is ouerthrowne

The losse of the
enemie.

And of the *Flu-
singers*.

The *English*
commended
for their seruice

The second at-
tempt of *Ter-
goose*.

Their landing

In two places.

warres of the *Lowe Countries*. The enemies were all ouerthrowne: notwithstanding many escaped, by reason of the ditches and narrow wayes; especially the most of their Officers and leaders, by reason of their horles and Iades. Ours scaped not scot-free: for wee had slaine and hurt about two hundred and fifty; many of them Officers, and amongst others the Captaines *Bausser*, *Bedes*, and *Bostocke* English; besides *Wallons* and *French* which serued most valiantly. But the chiefe praise next vnto God, ought to bee giuen to the *English* Ensignes and armed men. Captaine *Walter Morgan* serued very well; who was ouerthrowne with a Musket shot in the head of the armed men. All the rest did most valiantly. Some will blame me for the naming of our owne losses: but it is a shame for a souldier to write lesse then truth. There can bee no braue encounter without men slaine on both sides. True it is, the fewer the better conduct; but the more dyes, the more honour to the fight. This encounter so encouraged our men, that *Saras* and Sir *Humphrey* resolved to returne to *Tergoose*. After finishing their preparations and orders, we landed at the same Village we did before: in number about three thousand *English*, *French* and *Wallons*; for our troupes were encreased with *Rowley* and his garrison of *Camsfer*. Our second landing was in better order then the first, by reason our ships attempted the Island in two places; but all or the most part that carried souldiers, were at the landing place. The other being so many vessels in number, approached the shore, in such sort that the enemy durst not separate their forces to attempt both: fearing that the other would cut betwixt

betwixt them and the towne. Being all on the shore, we marched vnto a faire Village named *Bisling*, some league from *Tergoose*; where we lodged that night and the next day. The second night at midnight we marched towards *Tergoose*; before sixe of the clocke in the morning we were all within an English mile of the towne. Finding the inconuenience of our last skirmish in the one place, order was giuen to the companies of the Capitaines, *Morgan*, *Henrie Barnard* and *Viran*, to march with all speed to attempt the fort which stood on the head of the Hauen which entred into *Tergoose*. And if the enimie would not quite their fort, then to lodge on the one ditch betwixt them and the Towne; where they stood in battraile on the other ditch, to see the effect of our attempting the fort. Being hot in skirmish with the fort, according to our direction; a company of our men began to seek means to pass ouer the ditches, to cut betwixt the fort and the towne. There was also a way that passed through the medows, frō the ditch where our battell stood; whither *Sir Humfrey* and *Saras* sent many to second vs. The enemy perceiuing our resolution to lodge betwixt the fort & the towne, quitted the fort. Notwithstanding *Tork*, with most of *C. Morgans* cōpany, re-encountred the on the ditch; in such sort, that halfe of those who were in the fort were cut off, before they could recouer the towne. True it is, the enimie had reason to quit the fort, by reason they were not victualled but from hand to mouth; neither was it worthy of any great munition, because it could not endure any battery. Being entred the suburbs, *Pacheco* salied with great courage, and skirmished in such sort, that our first troupes were forced to stand for their fellows;

Come to Bisling.

Direction to take the fort.

The fort assaulted.

Quitted by the enimie.

The Flushing-
gers enter the
Suburbs.
Pacheco salieth.

Fired the salt-
houses.

Is forced to re-
tire.

The number of
the garrison.

Ordinance
planted.

A breach made.

The Picke be-
tweene the
chiefe of the
Hushings.

The scalado
giuen.

at which instant the enemy fired all or the most of the Salt-houses. Our men being arriued close together, we charged *Pacheco*, forced their troupes to double their pases into their gates; and withall lodged and placed our first guardes at a Chappell within eight score of the towne: where we stayed and made good, vntill all our troupes were lodged. By reason of our small army, we could not assure the one halfe of the towne: for the garrison were eight hundred strong, all naturall *Spaniards*, commaunded by more expert leaders then our selues. Yet hauing made our trenches and approaches, wee landed sixe Pieces of batterry within sixe score of the walles; which did beare on the port towards the hauen. Perceiuing those Pieces could not make any breach to content our Gouvernors, we dislodged them, to beare on the bulwarkes which flanked that curtaine. Hauing battered this parapet, and made it fit as wee thought, to be attempted with a small scalado; resolution was taken to assault it the next night. In the meane time so great a picke and iealousie grew betwixt Sir *Humfrey* and *Saras*, that each would faine disgrace his fellow. Notwithstanding both agreed to attempt the scalado. After midnight, we dislodged from our quarter some two thousand of our best men, all in Camisadoes with scaling ladders, God knows like ignorant souldiers: else we would neuer haue attempted a scalado on such a troupe. For lightly a scalado neuer takes place, vnlesse it bee on a simple troupe, or a negligent garde, hauing a rampier or fort to defend. Notwithstanding ambition and courage so pushed vs on, that Sir *Humfrey* and *Saras* being approached, aduanced

advanced vp their ladders : so did a great number of
 Gentlemen and souldiers on sundry ladders. The ene-
 mie politickely kept close vntill many were ready to en-
 ter. Then they discharged a voley of shot full in our
 faces, killing many. And withall, their armed men ad-
 uanced to the push of the Pike ; In such sort, that they
 dismounted the most without ladders. At which terror The Flushingens
 we retyred without commandement, vntill wee came repulled.
 vnder the dike where the enemies shot could not hurt
 vs. And not without reason. For being on the bul-
 warke, it was flanked from the curtain in such sort, that
 none could abide it. Neither could we ioyne with the
 enemy, vnlesse he list ; by reason of a dike betwixt
 both, one which they had a draw-bridge at their com-
 mandement. At this scalado Sir *Humfrey* and *Saras*
 serued very valiantly: he that escaped best of both, had
 sundry Hagabuthadoes on their armours and Camisa-
 does. I meane their shirts that couered their armours.
 Many young Gentlemen and Officers performed also
 couragious seruice. Diuers were slaine and hurt: among
 others one *Bouwege* was taken by the enemy, whom
 they commended greatly for his valour : but hee dyed
 afterwards of his hurts in their hands. This attempt
 so quailed our courage, that we despaired of the towne:
 Notwithstanding resolution was taken to continue the
 siege, vntill the Prince of *Orange* were aduertized how
 the world went. Hereupon *Saras*, Sir *Humfrey* and
Rowland dispatched posts to the Prince ; both to ad-
 uertize him, and to procure more means. The Prince
 vnderstanding our case, dispatched letters to the towns
 of *Holland*, and to the Count *De la Marke*, to desire them

The Prince ad-
 uertized of all,

Writeth for
 succours.

Their igno-
rance in service.

The *Tergosians*
in want.

Certifieth D.
d'Alua,
Who sendeth
them *Mondra-*
gon with 3000.
strong.

Hee entred the
Iland at a lowe
water.

The hazard of
his entrance.

to doe their best endeauour to asist vs before *Tergosse*. The Count sent his Lieutenant *Bartelencie* with some 2000 *Neatherlanders* and *Almaines*. Being ioyned with vs, they gaue some courage at the first; but when their discipline and valour was tried, we found them simpler men then our selues: yea, so rawe, that they brought vs euery day into more disorders. Neuerthelesse, the sight of our numbers caused vs to besiege the towne round about. Belike the enemy feared vs, or wanted some necessaries. And finding meanes to acquaint D. *d'Alua* with their wants; he sent wth all speed his Colonell *Mondragon* with his regiment of *Wallons*, and about seauen companies more of *Wallons* & *Spaniards*: who might be in all some 3000 strong. This Colonell was expert, valiant and vigilant. Being arriued at *Bergham* vp *Zoone*, and finding our forces masters of the seas, & making good garde round about the Island where we were; he was in great paine, and knew not how to passe the water. By good espy-alls and guides, he found the Island easie to be entred at a low water, from the banke of *Brabant*; where the passage in the deepest place was not aboue fower foote, and for more then halfe the way dry sands; But at quarter flood all was couered with seas; at the least fixe English miles. So as his troupes must recouer the dike of the Island from the place where they entred, in lesse then three howers; or else be ouerflown with the sea. Also being ready to enter on our dike, had our gouernour kept good guards with any valour, his troupes must needs haue bin defeated. Also he could not bring many hands to fight in order; the narrownes of the place where he marched was such.

such. But this Collonell remembring the streight commandement of his Generall, fearing the towne to be in greater wants, then indeed it was; resolu'd to passe, and landed without resistance. Norwithstanding, he lost in his passage neere two hundred. Besides, he and his troupes were so wet and weary, that they remained all that night in the place where they landed: which was about two great leagues from our Camp.

The error of the chieftes of the Flushingers.

Then iudge you what would haue become of his troups, had we been cōmanded by expert Gouvernors, & charg'd them at their landing with half our numbers.

In reason we had defeated them. The next morning *Mondragon* tooke his march towards *Tergoose*, having intelligence with the towne: And beeing in sight, the towne sallied and entred into hotte skirmish with our guardes, on the side from their succours: In such sort, that the most of our Campe made head towards them.

Mondragon in sight of the towne.

Who sallieth.

While wee were in hot skirmish with the garrison, *Mondragon* passed his men through the towne *pel mel* with ours: In such sort, that they forced our guardes to runne, and quite all our trenches, euen to the fort, at the head of the water towards the sea. This fort was so little, that it could not hold 300 of our men.

Mondragon cometh vpon the Flushingers.

Forceth them to the fort.

Wherefore our disorder was great, in seeking meanes to escape into our navy; which anchored within a harquebush shot of the fort. A great number were drowned, besides those that were slain; & some yeilded vnto the enemy: especially those who were in the fort. Diuers officers were carried prisoners into the castle of *Antwerp*: & amongst others *Cap. Tristan*, & *Viran*. Thus ended our ignorant poore siege. And but for the skuts

Thence to their ships.

and

Sir *Humfrey*
Gilberts discour-
 ragement and
 desire to return
 into *England*.

Ziricksee taken
 by *Vorst*.

Sir *William*
Pelham vieweth
Flushing.

His iudgement

The Prince
 Lord of all
Holland.

and small boats which came hard by the shore to receive vs in, all had been lost. Our blowe was so great, that Sir *Humfrey* and the most of our men not being acquainted with such disasters, sought all meanes to returne into *England*. Notwithstanding, before we embarked, Sir *William Morgan* arriued from the Prince, with authority frō the Prince & the States in *Holland*, to make large offers to stay Sir *Humfrey* and his regiment for their seruice. But all would not serue to stay either Sir *Humfrey*, or any of his troupes. Whilst our siege of *Tergoose* endured, *Vorst* the Admirall and his seamen wan *Ziricksee* without blowes. By that you may perceiue, that *Pacheco* and his were not exceeding expert, in quiting such a place in such manner as they did.

I Did heare also, that Sir *William Pelham* was sent from *England*, to view the seat of *Flushing*. Being returned, they said his report was, that it was a place not worthy to be kept; meaning not sufficient to withstand so great an enemy any long time. If that bee true, we were not very great Captains at that time; for then without fellowe, hee was accounted our chiefeft souldier. By this time the Prince had gotten a sure footing in *Holland*, so as all places of any importance were his.

Duke

Duke d'Alua asieges Harlem; where many disasters fell on both sides: which siege may be called the tedioussest, dearest, and painfulllest of any in those daies.

DVke d'Alua seeing the people generally ready to reuolt, with the lest shew the Prince could make; resolued to gather his forces, and to charge the *Hollanders* with all fury: swearing to his Captaines and souldiers, that the spoile of *Holland* shold be theirs, vpon condition they would execute all they found. Hauing prepared a mighty army with all necessaries, hee dislodged out of *Brussels* towards *Holland*. Being arriued at *Newmegen*, hee passed the riuers of *Wale* and *Rhyme* in the dead of winter; In winter. and against all reason marched from *Arnam* towards *Virick*. His high Marshall or Master of his Campe generall was *Chiapine Vitelly*; *Don Iohn de Mandosa* was His Chieftains. Generall of his horsemen; his Generall of the artillery, Mounseur d'*Cressoneir*; his masters del Campe were *Baptista de Mounte*, *Dorkus Iulian*, *Romero*, *Iohn Francisco d'Baldezo*, *Lanchio*, *Auila* and *Mondragon*. There were with him also many other of Nobility and Gentlemen of quality; as well *Italians*, *Almaines*, *Burgonians*, and *Neitherlanders*, as also of *Spanish*. Being arriued at *Amsterdam*, he commanded his sonne *Don Frederick*, *Chiapine Vitelly*, and *Mandosa*, to march with the vanguard, and to engage the towne of *Harlem*; In.

Don Fredricks
quarter.

The forces of
the towne.

The order of
the siege.

Two sconces
at the mouth
of the water.

In such sort, that nothing could passe from it to *Leyden*, or to any other place by land. Having placed foure regiments of *Almaines* and *Wallons*, well entrenched in the wood hard by the towne, and in the waies towards *Leiden*; Don Fredrick placed himselfe with a *Spanish Terto* or Regiment well intrenched, in a village and a strong house betwene the towne and the sea; and so lodged the rest of his companies, that the towne sallies were cutte off; saving on the one quarter, which was meadowes & marish towards the Meere. In the towne were the most of the Princes best Captaines; namely, Mounseur d'*Saras*, *Steuens*, *Butch*, *Balford*, *Smith*, with diuerse others of the *Scots*, *French*, *Almaines* and *Wallons*. Amongst whom were some 200 *English*, in sundry Companies; without any Ensigne of their owne. The garrison in the whole might be some three thousand souldiers. They caused also about sixe hundred Burgessees to carry armes; besides two thousand and more of all sorts of people, sufficient to supply the place of pioners: of which were some three hundred women, all vnder one Ensigne. The womens Captain was a most stout dame, named Captaine *Margaret Kemals*. Having diuided the towne into quarters, and giuing charge of euey quarter vnto a principall chiefe, they fell to working in great numbers on the weakest parts of the Citie, and mended continually some part of the fortifications; In such sort that within one month their towne was three times stronger, then the first houre the enemy encamped before it. They kept also two small sconces on the mouth of the water that ranne from the towne into the meere, which assured

red the passage that waies; by which meanes they received daily all manner of commodities, that pleased the Prince & the States of *Holland* to send them. The Prince kept at *Delfe* in *Holland*. He chose for his Lieutenant of the wars the Baron of *Battenburgh*; for Generall of his horsemen and Marshall, Mounsicur *de Carlon*; for Admirall of the Meere for that service, one *Noris Brand*. By reason of the *Spanish* long delaies in their resolutions about their martiall affaires, the Prince dispatched away his chieftes with some five thousand souldiers, and about sixty hoyes and cromsters; of which, sixe were galliots and frigatts. This army arrived at the *Cage* within three leagues of *Harlem*, a place inclosed with waters; where because the *Spanish* could not attempt, by reason the Prince was master vpon the waters, the Baron *Battenburgh* furnished *Harlem* at his pleasure with all necessaries. There stood in the mayne right against it on the Meere side, a village named the *Safe*; where hee landed and entrenched very strongly. In that place he encamped with some six hundred horsemen, and the most of his foote-men. At the *Cage* there was no danger, wherefore he anchored his shipping hard by the shore; leaving for their guard six hundred souldiers, with the Admirall and one *Ashilers*. By this time Duke d' *Alva* arrived before the towne with his whole forces, artillery and munition; amounting in the whole neere to thirty thousand; of which might be some thousand & five hundred horsemen. He needed no great cavallery, by reason he was assured there would bee but few against him. Also those grounds did not serve for great

The Princes
care of the
towne.

He dispatcheth
an army to the
Cage.

Which landeth
at, and entren-
cheth the *Safe*.

Duke d' *Alva*
before *Harlem*
with 30000.

Vieweth the
seat of *Battenb.*

Affronteth him
with forces,

Makes his ap-
proaches,

The towne sal-
leth with good
successe,

The battery.

The towne re-
coured the as-
sailants,

troupes of horsemen to fight in. After viewing the strong seat of the Baron of *Battenburgh*, and perceiving no good could be done vpon his troupes; to affront him, hee aduanced *John Battisto del Mounte* with five Cornets *Italians*; who entrenched strongly with sixteen Companies of footmen in a village called *Hel-lingham*, halfe the way betwixt both our companies. Afterwards, he began to make his approaches carefully; sparing neither pioners nor cost, to spare his souldiers. Before hee planted his battry, the towne made many braue sallies, killed a great number with small losse to themselves. Once they carried diuers Ensignes out of their enemies trenches, & nayled sundry peeces of battery. After, placing his battry and playing furiously, he gaue two sharp assaults: which were defended worthily by the besieged, to the enemies great losse; of whom a great number of quality were slaine and hurt; and amongst others, the braue master of the Campe *Julian Romero* lost his eye with a hargabushado. The enemy often posselt the breach: but beeing entred their halfe moone, I meane the trench which the defendants made ouerthwart the breach within, they were murdered like dogges. The defendants had diuers fowlers and other peeces loaden with nailes and small shot, which they placed on the corners of their halfe moone. Those were discharged full against the enemies, being entred vpon the breach. Also they had placed a great number of small shot in houses both high and lowe, full of Cannoners who flanked the halfe moone; and besides, the halfe moone was doublemanned with Muskietiers & Calliwers. Duke d'Al-

his losses were so great, that perceiuing the braue resolution of the defendants, hee gaue ouer his assaults, and began to myne and to approach carefully with sape and other stratagems. Sometimes he would mount Cages on masts, made with planks and such deuices, of musket prooffe. In those hee would place diuers musketiers, who by reason of their height did beate into the trenches of the halfe moone. The defendants good Cannoniers plagued those Cages in such sort, that often the Cages, birds and all fell downe and brake their necks in their owne trenches. So, at last no birds could be found to sing in Cages, where fire-worke and Cannon-shot could annoy them. His mynes tooke little effect. Some the defendants found with counter-myne. One myne beeing passed vnder a bulwarke before it was found, and then discouered, the defendants made such trenches round about it, that the myne being fired, and the enemies entered, the trench plagued them like the halfe moone; so as they were driuen to quitte their myne, as before they had done their breach. Another time they battered a new bulwarke: and the defendants perceiuing they would lodge in it, left rampiring against their bastery, and fell to myning their owne bulwark. After, making many trenches round about it, and placing diuers barrells of powder in their myne, the enemies offered to enter. The defendants quitted the bulwark, suffered the enemies to enter in great numbers; and being at the push of pike at a barrier of their trench, they fired the myne, blew, slew, and toke at least 1600: and withall sallied into their trenches, and

To their losse
Who retire.
D'Aluans stratagems.
Cages erected.

Which are beaten downe.

Mynes.

Blow it vp and
sally vpon the
enemy.

And recover
their ground.

Duke d'Alva
giveth order
to force the
towne.

He maketh a
cut in *Harlem*
Meere,
Passeth 43
ships into it.

Besiegeth the
two forts.

Preparation
for a sea fight.
Colonell *Mor-*
gan arriveth out
of England.

recovered their owne ground where their bulwarke stood, which they entrenched & kept. Duke d'Alva his losses were so great, that albeit his choler increased, yet the courage of his souldiers much quailed; so that the wisest fort requested him to save his men from such furious terrors, and rather to spend a long time either to famish the towne, or to procure the Princes forces to fight; which he could not doe without meanes to fight by water. Being in *Amsterdam*, with the resolution of his Admirall Count *Bossue*, and good intelligence with the principall Burgeses of the saide towne, hee resolved to cut a passage from the Southerne sea into *Harlem* Meere; which they did, and passed some forty-five sailes, whereof most were greater then those of the Princes. These they armed and double manned, with the best sort of souldiers out of their Campe, besides their mariners. Anchoring close vnder a fort of theirs, not farre from ours, they resolved to besiege the two forts at the mouth of the water, that came from the towne to the Meere. Having those, they were sure to stop that passage, and to famish the town without giving battel. In short time they made a platform to beat these forts, which would hold good if their shipping could stay where they were. The Prince hearing their intent, commanded the Baron of *Battenburgh* to prepare all his Navie to attempt the *Spanish* fleet. By this time Colonell *Morgan* was arrived with tenne English companies: who, by reason he was but newly landed, stood on some poynts of contract with the Prince. But the service required haste; and the Prince commanded the Baron of

of *Battenburgh* to aduance his Nauie with all speede, and to vse all diligence to succor the distressed skonces. And albeit the *English* regiment stood on tearmes, Colonel *Morgan* (his owne band commanded by *Roland Torke*, being arriued some moneth before their fellowes) offered himselfe, and so did his Lieutenant Captaine *Bingham*, with diuers others, to serue where the Prince would command them. But their regiment refused to march without money. To say troth, they were promised to bee mustered and payd at their landing. The Baron of *Battenburgh* wanting souldiers to man both his Nauie and his trenches at the *Sase*, was forced to depart with the Nauie before towards *Harlem*; God knoweth, nothing well manned, in respect of the *Spanish*. The *Spanish* Admirall hauing intelligence, was ready with his Nauie double manned, wanting no necessaries: For the faire and rich towne of *Amsterdam* had furnished them with all wants, especially with store of Marriners. Being approached within sight one of another, we found the *Spanish* in good order of battaile, keeping close together. They aduanced towards vs triumphing with Drummes, Trumpets and glistering armours, with great courage; so as the sight quailed the courage of our white-liuiered Generall and cowardly Admirall. In such sort, that being approached nere ready to board each other, our Generall and our Admirall shranke our of our first ranke backwards; and aduancing their fellowes forwards, both them selues and diuers others of our best vessels made all the sailes they could to fly; leaving their poore companies engaged to the mercie of their enemies, by whom

The *English* refused to march without money

Battenburgh wanteth men to man his Nauie.

The Nauies approached each other.

The bravery of the *Spaniards*.

The Princes Generall and Admirall shie.

Thereſt diſcountenanced.

whom (God knowes) they were ſoone diſcountenanced. Our Admirall and Generall with our beſt ſailles eſcaped to the Cage, as I ſaid before; a place of ours, where we kept garrifon: the reſt of our Nauie made to the contrarie ſhore from *Harlem*. Diners eſcaped by reaſon they drew farre leſſer water then the *Spaniſh*; diuers were boarded and burned; among others two Hoyes, where *York* and Captaine *Morgans* companie was. Notwithſtanding, halfe our men eſcaped with leaping into the water, and recovered the ſhoare. Thus loſt we our Sea-battaile; principally for want of ſouldiers to man thoroughly our ſhips; but partly with ill directions and cowardly executions of the Baron of *Battenburgh*, and Admirall *Norris Brand*. For no Generall or Chiefe can excuſe himſelfe eſcaping out of an ouerthrow, without ſtaying with the laſt troupes that fight. After this our two ſkonces were loſt, and *Harlem* engaged to be loſt without ſuccours by land; which could not be without battaile. Shortly after, the towne beganne to fall to diſtreſſes; hauing in it at the leaſt one thouſand ſixe hundred mouths, with no meanes to be rid of any of them, but through the enemies Campe: which they offered to paſſe often, but alwaies they were returned into the towne, or maſſacred in the Campe. The poore Prince perceiuing the diſtreſſe of the towne, ſought all meanes to relieue it. Hauing no other means, he went to *Cublick Banquets*; where he encouraged the *Hollanders* to take armes, and aduenture themſelues with his men of warre, rather then ſuffer their diſtreſſed Countymen to periſh. Theſe poore *Hollanders* hauing ingaged themſelues with promiſe, reſolued to meet

The two ſkonces loſt.

The towne ſeeks to paſſe away their unprofitable people.

The Prince attempts to relieue the towne by land.

meete on a day in the Campe of *Safe*. Being arrived, the Baron of *Battenburgh* and Mounſieur de *Carlo* Generall of his horſemen, tooke reſolution to try the fortune of warres with the enemy, rather then to ſuffer the world to cry out, that the towne was loſt without blowes on their ſides : and thinking his name to be infamous (as indeed it was) for the Sea-fight, he thought it better to be buried dead then alive. Hereupon hee diſlodged from his trenches of *Safe*, accompanied with ſome ſixethouſand footemen and ſixe hundred horſemen ; and hauing with him ſome thouſand Mares. Vpon moſt of the which he placed two ſhot a peece: the reſt were led with Boures loaden with powder and other neceſſaries, which the towne wanted greatly. Reſolving to put thoſe neceſſaries into the towne, hee aduanced his forces. Being arrived hard by *Hellingham*, a place (as I ſaid before) which the enemy kept ; at the breake of day, the enemy taking the alarum, the Baron made a ſtand. After, conferring with his Captaines, hee tooke reſolution to deferre their deſſigne, and returned with our Campe to *Safe*. The beſieged being in great diſtreſſe for victuals, eſpecially for munition, and finding the ill conduct of our Generall and Chieſes; diſpatched out of town their Captaine Mounſieur de *Saras*, and *Hanton* his Lieutenant ; who paſſed with great danger, and were forced to ſwimme many ditches, hard by the enemies guardes. Being arrived at the *Safe*, bearing with them the townes reſolution ; which was, at the firſt ſight of our Campe to ſallie on the enemies trenches ; and ſo either to receiue their wants into the towne, or to eſcape how they could. *Safe*.

Battenburgh
leadeeth toward
Harl.m.

Commeth to
Hellingham.

Retyreth.

Saras ſent to
the Princes
Campe.

The Princes
power towards
Harlem.

Woodemouca-
ble skonces.

The Spaniards
keepe close.

The townsmen
make a sallie.

Are hindered by
wet straw fired.

was hauing conferred with the Prince and Baron at *Leyden*, returned to the *Safe*; where they tooke a full resolution either to dye, or succour the towne. Hereupon they dislodged from the *Safe*, with our armie named before, hauing with them some sixe hundred waggonen loaden with victuals and munition; with skonces made of boards of the prooffe of Muskets which ranne on wheelles, hauing in them places to play with sundry field-pieces; which skonces were to ioyne and to open as pleased our Engineer, euery fise and tenne pases. Being all ioyned together, I meane in one, it might cover at the least three hundred men. This skonce was to be drawen with horses on both sides, and in the midst, vntill we were ingaged with the enemies smal shor; then to be pushed vvith poales by the force of men. Being parted vvith all necessaries, and arriued betvvixt their Campe at *Hellingham* and the sea, the enemies rooke the alarum in all their quarters. Arriuing vvithin sight of their Campe, they kept their men very close, vvithin their trenches, and on the side of the vvood; so that vve could not see them. Our men vvithin the tovvne had made a great sallie through the Curtaine; in such sort, that they might issue out, where there was neither guard nor trench of the enemy. But a traytour leaping ouer the walls in the night discovered all their intent. Whereupon the enemy prepared great quantity of straw, which beeing made wet, they set on fire in sundry places, at such time as their Curriers gaue the alarum of the approach of our army, when the townsmen were ready to sallie out; by which meanes the townsmen could neither see the approaching of our army,

armie, nor knew what time they ought to sally. So the
 enimie directed five thousand of his best footemen,
 and three hundred horsemen to charge the townes-
 men if they sallied, and the rest to charge our Campe,
 if it were possible vnknowne to the townesmen;
 And so they did, by their gouernement and fine stra-
 tagem. For at the sight of our armie (being within
 two Musket-shot of their trenches) Duke d'Alua cau-
 sed the 5000 footemen, and 3 hundred horsemen, to
 discouer themselues before the breach which our men
 had made in the curtaine: withall he commanded the
 braue Baron Chiffero, and John Battisto del Mounto, (who
 had quited *Hellingham* with all his horsemen, and was
 newly arriued in their Campe) with others, to march
 on the sea-lands, vntill his artillery went off in vollies;
 then to cut into the high wayes, betwixt *Harlem* and
 our Campe at *Sase*; hauing with them some five hun-
 dred horsemen, and about five thousand footemen. Al-
 so he commanded his master of the Campe *Julian Ro-
 mero, Del Mount, Donkus*, the Barons of *Likes, of Ca-
 pers, of Frunsberke, and Paule Viler* to leape ouer the
 trenches with their regiments, and charge our army
 at the discharging of his artillery. Also *Don John de
 Mendoza* a generall of his horsemen, who was hidden, as
 I said before, was commanded to charge our horsemen
 at the going off of the artillery. The Duke with the rest
 of his army stood in battell within the trenches. Our
 Generall and Chiefes placed our Waggons to frontier
 the fairest places where their horsemen could charge
 vs: our *Wallons, Dutch and Flemish*, stood within the
 Waggons in good order of battaile, all in one squadron,
 with

D^e Alua's or-
 der against the
 Towne.

Sendeth forces
 of the retreat of
 the Princes
 power.

Appointeth
 forces to charge
 them.

And horse
 against their
 horse.

The order of
 the Princes
 armie.

- with our horsemen on both the sides towards the enemies, our *English*, *French*, and *Scots* stood, some twenty score before the front of our battaile. As we were busie in placing our engines, I-meane our skonces and waggons, their artillery went off; and withall the enemies presented in all quarters, as they were directed. At this sight (God knowes) our courage much abated: Notwithstanding, the Baron of *Battenburgh* and Mounseigneur *de Carlo* charged *Mendoza*, he hauing better then eight hundred horsemen, and ours not sixe hundred: At which charge Mounseigneur *de Carlo* generall of our horsemen was slaine, with many others of our best men. At that instant the Baron *Chiffero*, and *John Batista* came on the spurre towards the Baron of *Battenburgh*, leauing their footemen marching with all speede on the side of ours. Vpon their approach, the Baron and our horsemen ranne into our Waggons, with all the enemies horsemen in their tails. Then *Iulian* and the rest named before, draue in the *English* and *French* shot, winning our skonces and Waggons; and our battell brake and ranne towards the Meere. By reason of meadowes & ditches diuers escaped into our Nauie, which anchored not farre off, vnder a strong skonce; whose boats rowing from our ships saued many. But the Baron our Generall was slaine after he had recovered our battaile, with the most part of our men. All or the most part of our Cornets, ensignes, artillery, munition, waggons, engines and baggage were lost. Thus were wee ouerthrowen with ill directions and ignorant gouernement. What Prince or estate would direct their men of warre, especially being more then halfe their owne Countreimen;

The battaile.

The horsemen charge.

Carlo slaine.

The footemen defeated.

The error of the Prince.

Countrimen, to attempt about 26000 good souldiers well intrenched, gouerned with great Capitaines; not being in the whole 6500 footemen, and of those halfe poore spirited Burgesles? Or what Generall or Capitaine would vndertake it, vnlesse he were ignorant and without iudgement in martiall affaires? Some will say, had our friends perished in the towne without blowes, it had beene our shame. I doe confesse it, hauing any reason to fight. But being sure to perish both, it was our greatest shame to attempt it. If wee had kept our selues vndeated, and giuen order to the towne to haue compounded with the enemy, their composition had beene the better. But being defeated, the townelmen were faine to yeeld to the mercy of Duke *d'Alma*. For ^{The Towne} the sight of our Ensignes and Corners so quailed their yeeldeth, courage, that hauing no other remedy, they yeelded to his mercy within foure dayes after our ouerthrow. But he executed the most part of them most cruelly, sauing ^{The cruelty of Duke d'Alma.} the *Almaines* of *Stimbahs* regiment (who compounded for the most part to serue the King) and *Balford* ^{Balford,} with a few *Scottish* men; who to escape Duke *d'Almaes* cruelty, promised to kill the Prince of *Orange*: but being arriued with the Prince, he confessed his promise, and serued him faithfully long after.

The Spanish mutinies, Mounsieur de Herges repulse them at their scalado on Virricke, Duke d'Alua assiegeth Alkmer, where he receiveth the greatest disgrace that ever bee did since bee carried armes.



*D*uke d'Alua having wonne *Harlem*, and as he thought broken the courage of the *Hollanders*; thinking the Prince of *Orange* and them not able to furnish any place like vnto *Harlem*, and that his crueltie on that Towne would terrifie any garrison from hazarding themselves to be besieged: hee resolved with his counsaile of warre to attempt one of the other strongest townes, as *Alkmer* or *Leyden*; which being wonne, the rest or most of the others would yeeld. To that end he dispatched his Sonne *Don Fredericke*, accompanied with the master of his Campe generall *Chiapine Vitelly*, giuing them halfe his armie, and charge with all diligence to enclose the strong towne of *Alkmer*, situated in *North-Holland* himselfe with the rest of his armie, officers, Nobility, artillery, munition, with all other necessaries, was to second them with all speede. His orders being set downe, and his armie dislodged, hauing passed their fort of *Sparendam*, the *Spanish Tercias* began to mutinie; partly discontented for want of pay, but chiefly fearing to bee troubled with a more miserable lodging then they had before *Harlem*. This proceeded chiefly

Duke d'Alua against Alkmer.

A mutinie amongst the Spaniards.

chiefely from a few of the *Neatherlanders* which serued amongst their bands, and knew the fear of *Alkmar* to bee an ill-fauoured marsh, farre more vnholosome then *Harlem*; and knew it also to be a fear thrice stronger then *Harlem*. To say troth (if it were lawfull for men of warre to finde fault with any enterprise that their Generall vndertakes) they had reason to fear *Alkmar*, considering how their misery endured before *Harlem* about ten monthes: in the which time they lost about twenty thousand liues, the most with sickness and misery. Whereupon beeing past the fort of *Sparendam*; and lodged on the firme land, hauing neither riuer nor marsh betwixt them and the faire towne of *Yrick*; the *Spanish Tertias* chose and forced one to bee their chiefe, named in their language an *Electo*; They chuse an *Electo* who is lightly one of the finest stirring spirits amongst them, well knowne to bee stout and valiant. His quality and gouernment. Sometimes they forced a person to be their *Electo* against his will; But whether hee bee willing or nor, they will be sure to giue him a strong guard of the chiefest mutiners; with such articles as if they finde him faulty in the least point, they will murder him, had hee a hundred liues. Especially he must neither signe nor write any thing, but in publicke places before them all. Likewise, he must neither receiue writings nor speeches but in open audience; nor doe any thing without their generall consent. Obseruing their articles and orders, the multitude will respect and obey him during his gouernment; in as ample sort as the Kings Lieutenant; and all are sworne not to doe any thing without his consent. And with their Generall and officers they promise

His authority.

promise to free him from all matters that can be laid vnto his charge; which they haue obserued firmly at sundry times, as I will shew hereafter. And to say troth, if there can bee any good orders in mutinies, the *Spanish* doe theirs in good order; and keepe as good and as streight discipline during the time of their *Electo*, as when their officers are amongst them. As I said in my little discourse of the *Spanish* discipline, there can be no dangerous mutinie without a Chiefe; which must be authoris'd by a Prince, or Estate. If any of them mutineth, there must bee present meanes to cut them off, as *Alexander* did his *Parmenio*, or some other meanes to be assured of their persons; else ambitious Chieffes will often employ armies against their owne States and Masters, and will not faile to vse their meanes and credits to deceiue the multitude, to serue their owne turnes. Being stirred in armes, by all reason they are irreconcilable to their Princes or Estates; the multitude and followers may bee pardoned and forgiuen, but in no reason their principall instruments can looke for any sure reconcilment. But a popular multitude either in armes, or otherwise mutined, may bee appeased and reconciled easily in respect of the others, hauing no other instruments then were made by themselves; especially forced *Electoes*, like vnto the *Spanish*. As I said before, the *Spanish Tercias* and some six regiments of *Wallons* resolved to enter the City of *V-trick*, and to sack it rather then to misse their due paic. Whereupon they marched with all speed towards *V-trick*; and in their way they carried with them all the ladders they could finde in villages & Churches, which

Chieffes appointed by States.

A Chiefe appointed by the mutiners.

The *Spanish* mutiny against *V-tricke*.

which they thought would serue their turnes. Beeing approached hard by the towne, they found the wals well manned and in good order; by reason Mounſieur *de Hierges* Gouvernour of *Gelderland* and of *Vrick*, was arrived there vpon intelligence of their determinations; who commanded the Captaine of the Castle vpon his allegiance to the King, to vse all endeaours for the defence of the towne. The *Castilian* assured him of his loyalty, to the vttermoſt of his power.

The towne defended by
Mounſieur
de Hierges.

To bee the better assured of his *Spaniſh* garrison; Mounſieur *de Hierges* cauſed halfe the garrison of the Castle to ſally; and to manne the Curtaine, where the mutiners attempted. Before they offered any attempt, *Hierges* ſent a *Spaniſh* drum vnto them; aſſuring them, rather then they ſhould enter the towne, Hee and as many as loued the Kings ſeruiſe would dy in the place. Notwithſtanding, the mutiners reſolued, and aduanced the ſcale; giuing their fury on the Curtaine next vnto the Citadell; thinking be like, that their fellowes within would not be cruell againſt them. But being in the ditch, and hauing placed their ladders to the Rampier, both *Hierges* and the Captaine of the Castle and all the reſt, plagued them with volleyes of ſhot both great and ſmall; In ſuch ſort, that happy was he that could retorne firſt, leauing behinde them all or the moſt part of their ladders, with many of their men ſlaine or hurt. Afterwards the mutiners returned into the countrie, ſo greatly diſcontented, as they did not onely raile on Mounſieur *de Hierges*, the Captaine, and garrison, but on their King, Generall, and Officers: In ſuch ſort, that moſt of them ſware they would bee paid,

The mutiners
retire.

Rayle on their
King.

Are pacified by
D'Alua,

Send away
their *Electo*,

Don Fredrick,
D'Alua fol-
loweth.

Alkmer streng-
thened by the
Prince.

The towne
engaged.

Pontones for
the ordinance.

The Cannon
planted.

paid, and better vsed, or else they would serue the enemy against their King. Duke *d'Alua* hearing their resolutions, dispatched Commissioners to appease them: and in the ende was forced to content them, both with five moneths pay, and assurance to be forgiven. Hauing pacified them and reconciled all, they accepted their Officers, and agreed to march whither they should be ledde. But first, according to their custome, euery man gaue a crowne vnto the *Electo*, who was to depart with all speed out of the Kings dominions; but with good assurance and passport not to be molested. This mutinie hindred Duke *d'Aluaes* intent some month. Notwithstanding, according to his first resolution, *Don Fredrick* and *Fuella* marched with all speed to enclose *Alkmer*. So did the Duke followe with the rest in all speed. In the meane time, the Prince and States of *Holland* had sent into the towne, five or sixe expert Captains; especially the *Scottishmen Smith* and *Cornelleys*, who entered the towne with some foure hundred souldiers. The most of these Captaines had been in *Harlem*, and saued the towne for a long time, next vnto the Almightyes will. The vanguard being arriued, they soone engaged the towne; so as none could either sally or enter. Duke *d'Alua* being arriued with the rest, prepared great pontons or bridges, with other necessities to plant his battrey: which hee could hardly doe, by reason of the marish and wet rotten grounds, whereon the towne stood. Notwithstanding, with his expert Captaines & cunning Engineers he mounted eighteen peeces of Cannon, with some six Culuerings in a marish ground against reason; impossible

possible to be done, as the defendants thought. These peeces did beate crosse, on two platformes, a weak bulwarke, and a Curtaine, some eight score off. The battry. Having no other flanke, by reason the ground served not, they could not bring the battry within lesse then eight score; wherefore their fury was the lesse. To say troth, The distance of the battry. all batteries ought to be placed within lesse then eight score; if it be full seaven score, it is very farre to doe any great hurt: In case the defendants be in any great numbers within, having store of earth to rampier and entrench themselves. Notwithstanding, I heard some of the best defendants in that towne say, in their iudgements, the feare of the people and of most of the souldiers within was such; that had not the enemies enuironed the towne round about as they did, The feare of the towne. but left any place voide, the best of the defendants would haue quitted the place, and shifted for themselves. But being streightly enuironed and no waies to escape, remembering their cruelty at *Harlem*, No way to flee. they resolved to fight; by reason the souldiers which had been in *Harlem*, did importune the rest; especially the Captaines, who were assured to perish comming into their enemies hands. After some 7000 shot, the breach was reasonable, as the assailants thought. The breach. But in troth it was not; for aboue foure foot of the ground of the rampier was nothing battered, but saily couered with the ruine of the parapet and the earth that fell from the highest parts of the breach. Also they were faine to giue their assaults on *Pontons* & such Engines; Pontons for assaults. which they had made against reason, to aduenture men against a place defended with any valour. For a breach

(be it made neuer so assaultable) hauing many hands to defend it with any valour, lightly is neuer entred; In case they within be of any iudgement, as I said before, and hauing earth to entrench themselues. But the fury of Duke *d'Alua* and his Commanders was such, that they aduanced to the assault, & attempted it with great courage. Being twice repulled, notwithstanding they aduanced the third time, to their folly and deare costs. For at those assaults they lost diuers of their best Capitaines, and at the least 1000 of their brauest souldiers.

The assault.

The Spaniards
& repulled.

The siegela-
wed.

*D'Alua*s dis-
grace.

His experience
for warre.

His error.

The next day the raine fell in great abundance, in such sort, that they raised their siege in few daies; and lost diuers peeces of battrey which they could not hale out of the marish. At this towne did the famous Duke *d'Alua* lose the greatest credite, that hee did in any place since hee carried armes; which he had done sixty yeares. For fifty yeares, the least commandment hee had, was Generall of the horsemen: which place hee had in *Germany*, when *Charles* the first ouercame Duke *John Frederick* of *Saxony* and his confederates. But had the Duke marched streight to *Delfs* hauen and taken it, & *Mayston-fluce*, when he marched to *Alkmer* (which places were vnfortified to any purpose) by all reason he had carried all *Holland* in a short time. I am sure, the most men of warre who knowe the seate of the Countrie, will confesse no lesse then my selfe.

Monsieur

Mounſieur de Poyet ſurpriſeth Gertrudenberg.



Hileſt Duke *d'Alua* was buſie about his enterpriſe of *Alkmer*, Mounſieur *de Poyet*, who had bin with Count *Lodowick* in *Mounts*, being newly arrived out of *France*, was choſen Lieutenant of the warre to the Prince of *Orange*.

Having conferred with the Prince, they gathered certaine Companies of *English*, *Scottiſh*, *French* & *Flemings*, at *Dort* in *Holland*: which they embarked with petardes, ladders, and ſuch Engines of warre. Mounſieur *de Poyet* uſing great diligence, landed his troupes in the night, on the dike towards *Seauenbrooke*; ſome halfe a league from the ſtrong towne of *Gertrudenberg* in *Brabant*, ſituated on the water ſide next vnto *Dort*.

Mounſieur *de Poyet* landeth his troupes in the night.

After, placing his troupes in order, hee ſent before him a valiant *French* Captaine, named *Malion*, accompanied with a dozen reſolute ſouldiers; amongſt whom were two or three of the countrie ſouldiers, who had been often in the towne and knew all the rampiers as well as the inhabitants theſelues. Whileſt *Malion* ſpent ſom howr in diſcouering the place they meant to ſcale, Mounſieur *de Poyet* aduanced his troupes towards the towne. Being within a quarter of a league of the towne, hee ſtaied vntill about an houre before day. Having conferred with *Malion*, he deliuered vnto him ſome two hundred of his beſt ſouldiers, giuing him charge to ſcale with all courage; aſſuring him to ſe-

His order for the ſurpriſe.

Malion entred

Poyet recon-
deth him,

Resistance in
the market
place,

The garrison
defeated,

The Gouver-
nour escapeth.

cond him with the rest. *Malion* and his troupes entred the ditch of a small raueling, ioyning vnto the rampier, where hee placed his ladders. After the passing of the round (notwithstanding that the sentinels gaue the allarum) *Malion* and his troupes recovered both raueling and rampier, before any great troupe came to encounter him. The garrison being gathered together in reasonable numbers, charged *Malion* resolutely at the push of the pike; but being seconded by Monsieur *de Poyet* and his troupes, they were quickly content to quitte the fury, and also forced to runne into the market place, whither the assailants followed them in the taile. Notwithstanding, being entred the market place, the Gouvernour with his fresh troupes turned vpon vs, and gaue a hot charge at the push of the pike; but our many hands soone ouercame them, giuing them the retreat in rout. Some took themselves into the towne-house, which they kept a little while, and then yeilded to haue their liues saued. Diuers ran ouer the rampier towards *Breda*; More then halfe were slaine. The Gouvernour with a few recovered his house, which stood on the rampier; out of which hee escaped ouer the wall vnto *Breda*; leauing behinde him all that hee had, sauing what hee carried vpon him. Thus was the strong towne of *Gertrudenberg* surpris'd, with lesse then 1200 men; hauing in it at the least 600 souldiers, besides Burgesses, with the losse of foure and fifty persons of our side; to the great grieve of Duke *d'Alua*, not without reason. For considering his losse and disgrace at *Alkmer*, it did equall at the least his victory at *Harlem*.

Baldeſo

Baldefo, sent by Duke d'Alua into Holland, entreth
the Hague, attempteth Delfe, and other places
without successe.



Hen Duke d'Alua aduanced
to besiege *Alkmer*, hee sent
the Master of his Campe
Don Francisco de Baldefo, with
his *Tertia De la Ligne*, with
fue Cornets of horsemen,

*Baldefo sent into
Holland.*

and some twelue companies of *Wallons* out of sundry
regiments; commanding him to aduance into the bow-
els of *Holland*, to relieue his troupes in the rich Villa-
ges (where he thought best) betwixt *Leyden*, *Delfe*, and
the Sea-coast, as farre as the riuer of *Mase*, and the town
of *Brill*: Charging him to attempt nothing without his
aduice and consent; vnlesse it were with sure intelli-
gence with some of the townes. *Baldefo* being entred
the faire and rich Village of *Hague*, without any resi-
stance, found it a place sufficient to lodge double his

*Entreth the
Hague.*

troupes; all in couert, and most in beds. This *Hague* is
counted the fairest Village in *Europe*, and the place of
the generall assembly of all the *Neatherlands*, next vnto
Brussels (I meane the seauenteene Prouinces since they
were vnited vnder the house of *Burgundy*) where the
King hath a faire Palace, and diuers of the Nobility
houses, with a great multitude of Lawyers. This
Hague is such a Village, that *Charles* the first being reque-
sted to fortifie it, answered; hee had rather it should re-
maine the fairest Village, then a reasonable faire towne.

The seat there.

But

But I perswade my selfe, both hee and the Countrey would haue fortified it, but that it standeth more then halfe on sandie grounds: which can neuer bee made strong by the earth it selfe, by reason of the loosenesse of the land. The Prince of *Orange* tryed to doe it, but could not to any purpose; so as it might be kept with any garrison against an army, without a reasonable army to defend it. *Baldeo* after lodging a fewe dayes in the *Hague*, caused all the Villages to bring him such necessities as pleased him. Then he aduanced certaine of his companies to a Village called *Riswicke*, in the way towards *Leyden* from *Delfe*; which he entrenched and baricaded. Likewise he entrenched his first guardes at the bridge, halfe the way betwixt *Delfe* and the *Hague*; where often our troupes and theirs had many a hot skirmish, both neere vnto the guardes, and sometimes hard by the ports of *Delfe*. Colonell *Morgans* regiment and diuers companies of *French men* were lodged in the Villages, betwixt *Delfe* and *Rotterdam*, safely from the enemie; by reason both the townes couered them behinde and before with great ditches on both sides, not to be passed with troupes, hauing any guards to defend them. These troupes serued alwaies ready to thrust into *Delfe*, *Rotterdam*, *Delfe-hauen*, or *Mayston sluice*; where the enemy would haue attempted first. In *Leyden* was Mounsieur *de Lorges*, sonne to that braue Count of *Mongomery*, with a faire *French* regiment; and other companies of *Scots*, and of the Countrimen and Burgeses well armed. In *Delfe* was Captaine *Chester* with two hundred *English-men*; whome afterwards the Prince aduanced to be Colonell of those troupes, by reason

Baldeo fortified
eth *Riswicke*.

Placed his first
guardes at the
bridge towards
Delfe.

The States gar-
risons.

In *Leyden*.

Captaine *Che-*
ster in *Delfe*.

reason of some sting against Colonell *Morgan*. There were in it also three faire companies of *French-men*, besides the Burgeses well armed. In *Roterdam* were some bands of *Scots*, and of the Countrimen, besides the Burgeses. At *Delfs-hauen* was Mounſieur de *Mayſon-flure*, with ſundry bands of *French*, *Scots*, and of the Countrey. In *Mayſon-fluce* was Mounſieur de *Saint Alagandy*, and *Terlon*, with ſome 1200; moſt of them Countimien; a great number of Peaſants and Burgeſes. Beſides, the garrifons wrought continually to fortiſie both *Delfs hauen* and *Mayſon-fluce*; in ſuch fort that both the places were ſtrong and gardeable, with reaſonable defences. Eſpecially *Delfs-hauen* was verie ſtrong; not to be wonne eaſily, hauing neceſſaries that belong to a forteſſe. The garrifon of *Delfs-hauen* had fortiſied the Village of *Ouerſkie*, halfe the way betwixt *Delfe* and *Roterdam*; where they kept a ſtrong garde. Mounſieur de *Poyet*, for the better aſſurance of *Leyden*, being the neereſt place engaged and enuironed with enemies, thruſt himſelfe into it. *Baldeſo* praetiſed all he could with *Leyden* and *Delfe*; once by treacherie of ſome, who kept the towne-port towards *Viricke*. *Baldeſo* prepared ſundry Turfe-boates, in which hee lodged good troupes of ſouldiers. Once being entred the ports, with the reſolution of the garrifon, and the good conduct of *Poyet*, they were repulſed; where *Baldeſo* loſt many of his men. Another time hee had intelligence with ſome in *Delfe*: but being diſcouered to the Towneſmen and garrifon, diuers of our bands which lodged hard by entred in the night; but either ſome of the Towneſmen or *Baldeſoes* guardes diſcouered

In *Roterdam*.

In *Delfs hauen*.

In *Mayſon-fluce*.

Delfs-hauen fortiſied.

Mounſieur de *Poyet* in *Leyden*

Baldeſoes attempts vpon *Delfe*.

our

Aduertisements
to d'Alua.

our arming: so as he gaue ouer his enterprize, when he was ready to attempt, in the like order as he did at *Leyden*. But had he come, we were ready at the least 1000 souldiers, besides the Burgesles, at the water-port where he should haue entred; and had bent sundry pieces of artillery, loaden with nayles, haile-shor, and such deuices. Had hee presented himselfe, his troupes could not escape without great murther among them, with no danger to our selues. After these attempts, *Baldeo* aduertized Duke d'Alua of his affaires; shewing him that no good could bee done, without an armie and the furie of artillery. To that end hee requested more troupes or meanes, or leaue to retyre himselfe with those troupes he had.

Duke d'Alua retyresh out of Holland, sendeth Iulian Romero, Monsieur de Capers and Fronsperge to assist Baldeo, Verdugo Gouverneur of Harlem.

D'Alua retyresh
to Brussels.



Sendeth Iulian
Romero to assist
Baldeo.

He Duke remembering his disgrace at *Alkmer*, fearing his armie would mutine if hee would ouercharge them with paines and trauel, hauing no treasure to content them; resolved to retire to *Brussels*. But before he departed, he sent the master of his Campe *Iulian Romero* to his armie, which was lodged in the Country by *Viricke* and *Amsterdam*; giuing him charge, if hee could, to procure his *Tertia* of *Lumbardy* (of which
Iulian

Julian was Colonell) to march into *Holland*, to ioyn
with *Baldefo*. He sent also Mounſieur de *Capers*; com-
manding him to procure his regiments of *Wallons* to do
the like. Also the regiment of *Fronsberke* the *Almaine*. *Fronsberke*.
These Colonels were directed to the Campe, to pro-
cure their regiments to march willingly, and not per-
force. He commanded *Mendoza* generall of his horse-
men to send with them sixe of the best Cornets. After
that these Regiments and Cavallery were contented to
enter *Holland*, and had sworne to obey their Colonells
in all manner of service; Duke d'Alua gaue the chiefe
charge vnto *Julian*, and the next vnto him was *Baldefo*.
He placed Colonell *Verdugo* Gouvernor in *Harlem*; with
his regiment of *Wallons*, and one Cornet of horsemen,
with three ensignes of *Almaines* out of *Fronsbergs* re-
giment. Himselfe departed out of *Amsterdam*, with his
sonne *Don Fredericke*, *Chiapin Vitelly*, *Mendoza* and all
the rest of his armie towards *Brabant*; resolving not to
attempt any great siege or service, before hee had ac-
quainted the King how the world went. To that end
being arriued at *Brussels*, he dispatched two of qualitie
vnto the King; either to send him treasure and meanes
more plentifully, and in better order; or to giue him
leau to retire himselfe, and to send another Gouvernor.

With Moun-
sieur de *Capers*.

Six Cornets of
horse.

Julian General.

Verdugo.

D'Aluaes retire,
and to what
end.

Julian Romero winneth Mayston-sluce, but dareth
not attempt Delfes-hauen.

Julian Romero
attempteth
Mayston sluce.



His order.

Taketh the
dyke the Sluce
stands vpon,
dismounteth
the artillery of
the forte.

Mounſieur de
Terlon depar-
teth.

Julian and his ſuccours being arriued,
and hauing conferred with Baldeſo,
reſolued to attempt *Mayſton-sluce*;
and diſlodged from the *Hague* with
their forces named before, haling
with them ſixe pieces of battery. Be-
ing arriued at the great Village called *Florden*, within a
ſmall league of *Mayſton-sluce*, they quartred their horſe-
men, with a regiment of footemen for their guardes;
and departed with the reſt to approach the *Sluce*. They
carried with the all the ſkutes and boats that might be
found, in Waggon; with plankes, ladders, and all other
neceſſaries that they thought fit, to ſcale and to make
bridges ouer the dikes. Being before the *Sluce*, with
their bridges and meanes they had made to paſſe the
ditches, they tooke the great ditch on both ſides of the
Sluce; I meane the dyke the *Sluce* ſtands vpon, and
which keeps the ſea from drowning the land. Hauing
mounted their artillery on both ſides of the dyke, they
diſmounted ours within, which did beate on the dyke.
After, turning their artillerie towards the ſeas, I meane
the riuer of *Maſe*, which is aboue a league broad in that
place, they beat away ſuch veſſels as the defendants had
anchoring before their fort. Mounſieur de *Terlon* being
Admirall and Gouvernour of *Brill*, perceiuing their ſuc-
ceſſe, departed out of the fort in a ſkute, with great ha-
zard, to recouer the *Brill*; preſently the enemies paſſed
their

their boates over the dyke into the *Mase*. Being passed, it much abated the courage of *S. Aldegoundy* & his garrison, not without reason. For betwixt the fort and the water their Rampier was worth nothing; so as at a high water it couered the dyke of the fort, as high as the parapet. The enemy perceiuing their successe, prepared a *Ponton*: which they builded artificially vpon their boates, and placed on it three of their pieces. The garrison perceiuing their stratageme, hauing no meanes to auoyde it, nor hope of succours; compounded for their fort, deliuering the enemies their chiefe prisoners with their ensignes and armes. Thus was the fort of *May-ston-slucce* lost, partly by reason our ships of warre durst not hazard to dismount the enemies artillery (which they might haue done, shewing their accustomed valour, as they did since and before in diuers places) but chiefly by reason our men did not cut the dyke on both sides of the fort, to haue drowned the Countrey; hauing done that, the enemy would neuer haue attempted the place. By reason of the strength of *Delfes-ha-uen*, the enemy refused to attempt it. To say troth, they had no reason to doe it; hauing no meanes to approach but on such a dyke; and the enemy being so well fortified and manned, as their approaches had beene vaine.

Italian boats
in the *Mase*.

The weaknesse
of the fort to-
wards the water

Italian placed
his artillery
vpon a *Ponton*.

The forte yeel-
deth.

Delfes-ha-uen
was attempted.

The King of Spaine calleth home the Duke d'Alua, and in his roome establisbeth Don Lewis de Requesence Governour of the Lowe Countries.

IN this time order came from the King, to retire Duke *d'Alua* into *Spaine*, and to resigne his place vnto *Don Lewis de Requesence*, Commendador Maior de *Castilla*; a souldier of great reputation for counsaile, but nobody for execution; as the battaile of *Lapanta* could witnesse. For this Commendador being chiefe Counciller to *Don Iohn de Austria*, did what he could to procure the Christian armie, not to hazard battaile with the Turkes. Also being in the fight, he aduanced so slowly with a rere-guarde of Gallies, that he nor his came to any blowes; so as both there and in other places, alwaies the Commendador was reputed a coward. But belike in respect of his wit and mildnesse, the King sent him into the *Lowe Countries*; perhaps perswaded, that a milde Capitaine would winne the hearts of the people, farre better with faire meanes, then Duke *d'Alua* with his cruelty. But in troth, both King and Councill deceiued themselves; in calling away Duke *d'Alua*, and in making choyce of such a Generall as the Commendador Maior. For by all reason, if the Duke had beene royally maintained as he ought; he had made his master absolute King ouer all the seauenteene Prouinces. To say troth, furie and resolution well vsed or executed, had beene

been the onely waies to suppress that nation; the *Spanish* being resolved to subdue them, as they were. For all other since, the witty politicke *Neatherlanders* did alwaies over-reach the *Spanish*; especially having such a head to direct them as the Prince of *Orange*, and being so strongly situated; wanting no meanes to maintaine warres, and resolved to withstand the *Spanish* to the vitermost, rather then to yeeld to any composition. For whether the people bee strongly situated or not; wealthie or poore; few, or great in multitudes; being resolved to be mutinous and discontented, and not willing (as I said before) to be brought vnto any composition, but such as pleaseth themselves: God helpe that Prince or State, that must be forced to compound with such a people, by any meanes but by the sword; which had beene farre more easie in the hands of Duke *d'Alua*, then of the poore *Commendador*. But the emulation amongst Councillers for greatnesse ouerthrew that seruice, with many others; as I will shew hereafter. The *Spanish* Priests, namely Cardinall *Granuill*, the Bishop of *Toledo*, with the aide of *Rigomus* did perswade the King, that Duke *d'Alua* was too great a subiect. By such means rather then any other, Duke *d'Alua* was called home, and questioned for many disorders; committed aswell in other places, as in the Lowe Countries.

The error of
the *Spaniard* in
remouing
D'Alua.

Walkheren besieged with the Princes shipping, Middleburgh releued by the Spaniards, diuers skirmishes betwixt the forces of either side; Mondragon entrench Middleburgh, the Spanish Naue at their returne toward Antwerpe defeated.

Walkheren besieged with ships by the States.



Julian Romero out of Holland.

The Commendador sendeth a Naue towards Walkheren.

Hilest *Julian* was busie in *Holland*, Mounseieur de *Poyet*, and *Boisset* Gouvernour of *Walkheren*, with his brother, the Admirall of *Zeland*, had besieged the Iland, with a great number of shippes of warre; In such sort, that nothing could enter into *Middleburgh*, *Armue*, and *Ramkins*, which the enemies held. Melsieurs de *Benoir*, and *Don Ruffello* being distressed for want of victualls in the said places, found means to acquaint the Commendador with their estate. Whereupon the Commendador sent for *Julian* to come with most of his forces, and to leaue *Baldese* with the rest in *Holland*. Hauing prepared a Naue of some hundred saile of ships, hoyes, and crumsters, giuing them in charge vnto the Masters of the Campe, *Sanio*, *d'Avila*, *Castilian* of *Antwerpe*, and *Mondragon*: After, furnishing them with all necessaries, both double manned with souldiers, and appointed with great store of victualls, as wel to relieue the distressed places, as the army abroad; he commanded them to vse all diligence, first to enter *Middleburgh*, and to relieue *Mondragon* Gouvernour of the Iland (with his regiment of *Wallons*, and some foure Companies of *Spaniards*) both

both with victualls and munition; then, to returne with the Nauy for *Antwerpe*, and to carry with them Mounſieur de *Beanoir* with his troupes. Before this Nauie paſſed *Lillo*, Meſſieurs de *Poyet* and *Boiſet* had attempted the *Ramkins*, and anchored with ſhips vnder the fort, which did diſmount diuers peeces within; hauing their tops of Muſket prooſe, out of which our Muſketiers did command the parapet next vnto them. Alſo a myne was made in the dike towards *Middleburgh*; which being fired, raſed a corner of the fort to little purpoſe; but that there was but a few ſouldiers within, not halfe to man the walls, with a cowardly Enſigne bearer which commanded. By theſe meanes the *Ramkins* was deliuered to Mounſieur de *Poyet* ſome foure daies before the ſuccours arriued. Alſo there arriued from *Holland*, Collonell *Morgan* and his Regiment, with other Companies of *Wallons* and *Flemings*. The *Spaniſh* ſuccours beeing in ſight, our men planted the *Spaniſh* Enſignes on the *Ramkins*, and diſcharged a volley of artillery as if it were for ioy; only to bring their Nauie to anchor vnder the commandement of our artillery. Beeing approached and anchored, they ſoone perceiued what friends did welcome them: In ſteed of ſafe anchoring, they were faine to diſlodge vnder the muck of the dike a league off, to be ſafe from our artillery. Being anchored, *Beanoir* and *Ruffello* marched with the moſt of their men of warre to that place, haled with them foure peeces of battrey, which ſtood their Nauie in great ſteed; for they commanded all the road where the Nauie lay; In ſuch fort, that albeit our Nauy anchored within halfe

The *Ramkins* attempted by the States. From the ſhips.

By the myne.

Ycelded vp.

Collonell *Morgan* gan arriueth.

The *Spaniſh* in ſight.

Trained into danger of the ſhot.

Retire into ſafety. Defended by the Cannon from land.

Saile toward
Hague.

Are affronted
by land from
Flushing.

The danger
of *Flushing.*

halfe a league of theirs, betwixt them and *Flushing*, we durst not attempt them in that road, by reason of their artillery mounted on the shoare. Perceiuing no hope to succour their distressed places by water, they tooke resolution to saile about the Iland, and to land their men at a place named the *Hague*, which stands on the neck of the Iland, to the East-ward from *Camsier*; a league from the said towne, & some league and a halfe from *Middleburgh*. Whilist their Nauy was doubling about the Iland, our men of warre marched right against them alwaies, not knowing their intent, nor where they meant to land; but had they known our directions, they might haue easily entred and seised on the towne of *Flushing*, in sayling by it. Of two thousand souldiers which wee had in the Iland, we had not in the towne two hundred. In passing by *Flushing*, had their Nauy bent their course into the haven, there was nothing to defend them, but a paultery bome; which God knowes, could neuer haue endured one push of the smallest vessell. For the towne artillery, it vexed them onely in sailing by it. Being entred the haven, the souldiers had nothing to do, but to haue leaped out of their shippes to shoare on both sides of the haven: which might haue been done easily; hauing nothing to let them but the men of warre, which were at their passing by a great league off. For then (God knowes) the Burgeses were nothing trained either with armes, or any policy of defence. Also at this instant the bulwarke that flanked the haven was nothing furnished to any purpose. Therefore often true intelligence is the best part of an enterprise

enterprife, and worth alwaies halfe an army. Beeing anchored at the *Hague* named before, they landed their men and placed on that dike certaine peeces of artillery; in like sort as they did at their laſt anchoring, for defence of the *Nauy*. Hauing landed their viſualls, & ſuch neceſſaries as they had to furniſh their diſtreſſed places; they ſent to *Beauoir* and *Ruffello*, to ſend them all the meanes they could to transport their neceſſaries.

*The Spaniards
land at the
Hague.*

Beeing arriued, *Mondragons* men with viſualls and munition departed towards *Middleburgh*: where be- being arriued, Mounſieur *de Beauoir* & *Don Ruffello* returned with the olde gariſon to the *Hague*. In this time all our men of warre were arriued at *Camſier*, the next

*Relieve Mid-
dleburgh.*

place to front them; ſo was our *Nauie* anchored within halfe a league of theirs, halfe the way betwixt the *Hague* and *Camſier*. Mounſieur *de Roule* Gouvernour of the ſaid towne, hauing ſet good order in hiſ towne, Mounſieur *de Boiſet* Gouvernour of the whole Iſland and

*Are affronted
by the Princes
ſouldiers.*

Roule, ſallied with the reſt, to front the enemies at the *Hague*. Being arriued right againſt our *Nauie*, we being in numbertwo thouſand

*Who intrench
themſues.*

Engliſh, *Scots*, *French*, *Wallons*, and *Flemings*, entrenched our mayne in that place; then wee aduanced ſome three hundred, twelue ſcore further, and entrenched there two hundred; and aduanced ſix ſcore further, one hundred. Our guard was narrowe, by reaſon we were entrenched on a dike of ſixteen paſes broad, the ſea on the one ſide, on the other ſide meadowes inuironed with ditches, nor paſſable with armed men, without meanes to make bridges. The enemies perceiuing our lodgings, belike thought it was to cut off their paſſage betwixt the

Hague and *Middleburgh*. Whereupon not having passed halfe their necessaries, presently to intercept vs, they marched full against vs vpon the dike: a thousand or more aduanced into the meadowes right against vs; some five hundred on our side towards *Middleburgh*, followed with all their troupes. Those on the dike forced our first troupe to runne, following them in rout vnto our second. Being on the trench of our two hundred, we plagued them with a volley of shot, so as they were driuen to retire about twelue score; where they stood vntill their shot in the meadowes approached neere vnto vs. Collonell *Morgan* perceiving the heate of their skirmish, aduanced his Lieutenant Collonell, Captaine *Bingham*, with two hundred shot and armed men: So did *Boisset* and *Roule* aduance with them, and many of the other nations. Withall, the enemies aduanced with great resolution vpon the dike: so did the others in the meadowes passe over the ditches with planks and hurdles; In such manner that those troupes annoyed vs greatly. For they flanked vs with volleys on our sides so cruelly, that being at the push of the pike with the troupes on the dike, our men behinde made away. The enemies perceiving their retreat, passed over the trench, where they executed and hurt many: by reason wee fought and knew not of our fellows retreat, vntill our backs were towards the enemies. Who followed vs so close and with such fury, that our great stand ranne about halfe a league; vntill we came to a strong trench at a winde-mill, where we kept a good guard, which was commanded by the towne artillerie. The enemy perceiving the place too hot.

Are charged by
the Spaniards.

Who are forced
to retire.

The English
aduance.

The Spaniards
second charge

The Princes
souldiers flee.
The Spaniards
enter the trench

Giveth chase
to the Princes
souldiers.

Retireth.

hot to attempt; and not gardeable being posselt, by reason of the towne artillery, retired. Wee perceiuing their retreit, began to take such courage that wee resolved to charge them; aduancing with a cry and fresh resolution; charging their rereguard, their vanguard doubled their pases. Perceiuing their countenances, it gaue further courage; wherupon our charge began to bee resolute and furious: so as all their trouperanne; where we executed of them a farre greater number, then they did of ours in our first retreit. Wee followed them through their lost trenches, close to their trench and village of *Hague*. By reason of the nights approach wee quitted our skirmish, and kept guard at our trenches: which we mended all the night, keeping good guard and farre better order then we did before. All the night both towne and succours transported their necessaries into the towne; so that by their great number of skutes and waggons, all their victuals and necessaries were entred the rowne before two of the clock the next day in the afternoone; And as I said before, *Mondragon* with his, entred *Middleburgh*; and *Beanoir* with *Don Ruffello* and their followers arriued at the *Hague*. By reason of our equall losses and wearinesse, neither of both parties were eager to procure any skirmish: So that according to the Commendadors directions, their troupes embarked. Our flecte perceiuing their meaning to saile for *Antwerpe*, belike to discharge an honest reporte to the world; our Chiefes resolved to fight with them by sea. Hauing taken resolution and imbarcked the most of our souldiers, wee made towards them with good

Is pursued.

Put to flight
and executed.

Mondragon in
Middleburgh.

The Spaniards
returne to
Antwerp.

Are charged
by the Prince
his flect.

Capt. Yorke.

Boiset.

The Spanish
barded.

Flee.

39 sailes of
theirs taken

courage, as they sailed by *Camsfer*; Capitaine *Yorke* being aboard the vice-Admirall of *Flushing*, with a great number of young *English* gentlemen and souldiers, the most of Collonell *Morgans* Company, procured our vice-Admirall to board their vice-Admirall: which he easily yeelded vnto, for the man was valiant and eager of himselfe to charge. So was valiant Moun-
sieur *de Boiset* our Admirall, with the most or all his Nauie very eager to charge their fleet; beeing well manned with good store of gallant souldiers, of the nations of *English*, *Scots*, and *French*. Being close together, with great courage ours cried *Amain*. According to direction, our vice-Admirall boarded theirs: So did valiant *Robinson* a *Scottish* Capitaine, beeing in one of the best *Flushioners*, board their rere Admirall. Moun-
sieur *Boiset* charged their Admirall through their Nauie, who escaped with good sailing. Capitaine *Harry* & *Ambrose Duke*, the valiant *Frenchmen* & *Wallons*, being aboard of some of our best sailes, boarded also two of their best sorts of vessels. The enemy percei-
uing our resolution, fell in rout before the winde, with all the sailes they could make, to recover the river of *Antwerpe*. Notwithstanding, wee tooke, burnt, and forced to runne on the sands, about two and thirty sailes; & returned victorious, with their vice-Admirall, rere-Admirall, and diuers others into our towne of *Camsfer*: where we filled our prisons with *Spaniards*, *Wallons*, and great numbers of their marriners. This victory recompensed in honour double theirs; although not so profitable as their victualling of *Middleburgh* and *Armu*; which by that meanes held out
many

many a moneth the longer, and would haue done still, but for the defeat of *Rumers* wall. Notwithstanding that *Middleburgh* was victualled and farre better manned, principally by the person of braue Colonell *Mondragon*; the Prince gaue not ouer his determined purpose, but charged both the *Besoits*, I meane the Gouernour and his brother the Admirall, to vse all diligence to make sure garde round about the Island with their ships, as they did before; and to cut off all succours from entring any more. To that end they prepared a farre greater number both of ships and souldiers; on which enterprise the Prince did set his rest, with good reason. For he was assured to winne the Island in time, being master on the Seas. Within few moneths, *Mondragon* and his beganne to fall into distresse, for want of victuals. To terrifie them the more, the Prince sent his Lieutenant Generall Mounſieur *de Poyet* into *Walkheren*, with the most of his men of warre, sauing Colonell *Morgans* regiment; which remained in *Strinland*, standing on tearmes for pay, and leaue to returne for *England*, by reason of some discourtesies that fell out betwixt the Prince and the Officers of the said regiment. Notwithstanding diuers Gentlemen of that regiment accompanied Mounſieur *de Poyet*; amongst others Captaine *Walter Morgan*, Master *Christopher Carlell*, and Master *Anthonie Fant*. *Mondragon* fearing *Poyet* would attempt *Armu*, sent his Lieutenant Colonell into the said towne with a strong garde; by reason the place was but newly fortified, but very strong, without many hands to defend it. Also he kept a strong garde at the head of *Middleburgh*, a mile out of the towne.

The Prince againe besieged the Island.

His preparation

Mondragons distresse.

Mounſieur *de Poyet* sent into *Walkheren*.

The English discontent.

towne, to defend the haven. *Poyet* advanced his forces on the *Ramkins* dyke, towards *Middleburgh*. Being arrived right against the enemies guards at the head, ours intrenched themselves in that place; lodging our forces on the dyke, from the *Ramkins* to the said first garde: having betwixt vs and the enemy the haven, which might bee some threescore broad; where wee had diuers good skirmishes, as well by those that sallied from *Middleburgh*, as by them that lodged at the head.

The occasion of Sir Roger Williams serving the Spaniard.



Olonell Morgan being arrived in *England*, with his regiment in good order, to the number of seauen hundred, who being mustered before her Maiestie neere to *S. James*, the Colonell and some foure hundred of his best men were sent into *Ireland*; which in truth were the first perfect Harguebushiers that were of our Nation, and the first troupes that taught our Nation to like the Musket, as I said in my little discourse of the Spanish discipline: There also I touch how *Philip de Commynes* speaks much of *Lewis* the eleuenth, but nothing how he quitted his Duke of *Burgundy*. Most true it is, at Colonell *Morgans* going into *Ireland*, hearing how the young Prince of *Condy* was newly escaped from *France* into

into *Germany*, meaning (as it was told me) to leaue an armie, and to march with all speede into *France*: this bruit, and my greedy desires to trauaile to see strange warres, made me to quite the voyage into *Ireland*, and to goe with all speed towards the said Prince. Being arriued in *Germanie*, I found the Prince nothing ready to march, nor any speech of his sodaine leaue. Having spent there all the time I could, want of crownes forced me to returne for *England*. Passing from *Calen* towards *Antwerpe*, and entring *Lire* in *Brabant*, I was brought before the Master of the Campe *Julian Romero*; who amongst many questions enquired of me, what Noble men in *England* I knew best. I answered, the Earle of *Pembroke*; whom I serued a Page. He replied, what? he that was Generall of the *English* before *S. Quintin*? I neuer honoured any man more: and withall requested me earnestly to trye his courtisie in the *Spanish* armie; assuring me to depart when pleased me. Having spent all my crownes, and being loth to returne into *England* without seeing something; I promised to stay. Also in those dayes there was no dispute betwixt her Maiestie and the *Spanish* King, to my knowledge. This was the manner, and the first hower that I entred into the *Spanish* seruice.

Middleburgh in distresse, the Spanish prepare a Na-
vie to relieue it, which is beaten and overthrowne
by the Nassawians in a furious conflict.



The Spanish
preparation to
relieue Middle-
burgh.

Julian Romero &
Santio d' Auila
Generalls.

The Princes
Nauie.

Mondragon feeling his wants, aduer-
tized the *Commendador*; who per-
ceiuing no meanes to succour
him, but by sea, which could not
bee without forcing the Princes
ships, prepared all the sailes and
meanes he could. In time he made
ready some 120 saile: of which
were foure-score of warre, as well ships as Crumsters
and Hoyes, the rest victuallers, laden with all necessaries
to furnish the distressed places. Being in readinesse,
some at *Antwerpe*, some at *Bergen vp Some*, the rest at
Tergoose, hee gaue them in charge to his masters of
Campe, *Julian Romero* and *Santio d' Auila*, desiring them
for fashion sake to accept Mounseieur *de Benoyr* for Ad-
mirall, and to giue him some grace, in respect of his
disabling for the commandement of *Zeland*. This he
did onely to flatter the *Wallons*: by reason Mounseieur
de Benoyr was descended from one of their principall
houfes. The Prince hearing their intent, prepared for
his Nauie all or the most of the ships of warre, that *Hol-
land* and *Zeland* could make at that time, to the number
of some two hundred: a few ships, the rest Crumsters
and Hoyes. These are the best ships to fight in those
waters, by reason the most of them draw but little wa-
ter, and carry for the most part principal good artillery;
some

some demy Cannons, and many whole Culuerings. For those waters are full of sands and many dangers, although it be broad in some places tenne of our myles, all couered with seas; notwithstanding not nauigable in the most places, but in narrow streames: Inso much as in many places you may discover steeples and bankes, which in time past were Ilands like vnto the rest. For this cause I suppose those Countries doe carrie the name of *Sealand*. Also those small sailes turne farre shorter and readier, then other ships in those narrow passages; and keepe farre better by a winde. Having this Nauie in a readinesse well manned, especially with great store of good Marriners, besides a good number of souldiers of *Scots*, *French*, and *Neatherlanders*; he commanded his Admirall Mounseur de Boisfet, to aduance with his Nauie betwixt *Siricksey* and *Tergoose*, where the enemies must passe; there to trye the fortune of warre, rather then they should succour *Mondragon*. After finishing all preparations, the *Commandador* diuided his Nauie named before into three squadrons. The greatest vessels and the farre more in number, he commanded *Santio d' Auila* to aduance vnder the Iland of *Tergoose*; there to anchor vnder the fauour of some artillery mounted on the shore, and to stay in readinesse vntill he receiued further direction. Himselfe with the rest of his Councell and army marched to *Bargen-vp-some*; where he found *Iulian Romero* and his Admirall *Benoyr*, ready to set out with the rest of his Nauie, staying but for his directions. He diuided their vessels into two squadrons; giuing them equally to the Admirall and *Iulian*. All his Nauie being furnished to

The nature of the sea.

The best ships for that sea.

The Princes Nauie at *Siricksey*.

3 Squadrons of Spaniards.

Santio d' Auila at *Tergoose*.

Iulian Romero and *Boisfet*.

Want of Mar-
rers among
the Spaniards.

But not of soul-
diers.

The Comm-
dador giueth a
Signall.
Santio de Auila
aduanceth.

The order of
the *Nassawians*.

the uttermost he could, they wanted Mariners, especially of the same Countermen, that were well acquainted with those sands and shallow waters; but they were very well manned with brave land souldiers; for they had in them some 90. ensignes of souldiers, *Spanish, Burgundians and Wallons*. The *Commendador*, after placing himselfe with his Nobility and a great troupe of men of warre on the high banke of *Brabant*, within halfe a league of *Bergen*, where hee might see very easily the place where the battaile was fought: hauing giuen a signall to *Santio d' Auila* from a hill on *Brabant* side, which he might easily perceiue; *Santio de Auila* aduanced his Squadron with all the sailes hee could towards *Ramers* wall, where the *Nassawians* lay in good order of battaile, hauing diuided their battell into foure Squadrons. Mounsieur de *Boiset* the Admirall of *Zeland*, commanded the greatest; the Admirall of *Holland*, the second, which was his right wing; the Admirall of *Sirickesey* the third, which was the left wing; *Boisets* Vice-admirall *Bemire* commanded the fourth; whom *Boiset* commanded to make all the sailes hee could towards *Santio d' Auila*. Being arriued within cheluering shot, he comanded *Bemire* to lead *Santio d' Auila* over the shallow waters, if he would follow him; if not, to keepe in the wind as neere vnto him as he could; without fighting, vnlesse the enemie would force him, vntill *Boiset* began. *Julian* and *Beneyr* hauing not two leagues to saile vnto the *Nassawians*, who were ready vnder the head of *Bergen* in good order; and perceiuing that *Santio d' Auila* could not saile vnto them, by reason that most of his vessels drew too deepe water, and

and that his smallest vessels were in fight with *Bemire*: they aduanced with great courage in good order, thinking to haue sailed betwixt the *Nassarians* and *Brabant* side, and to haue ioyned with *Sancio d' Auila*. By this time *Sancio d' Auila's* smallest vessels were in hot skirmish with *Boisets* Vice-admirall; but many of his greatest vessels were runne on ground, with very ambition to come to fight before their fellowes; *Julian* and *Benoyr* being right against the *Nassarians*. *Boiset* hauing the wind, made with all resolution towards the enemy; so did they abide them with no lesse courage: In such sort, that the valiant Admirall Mounseur de *Boiset*, and the resolute braue Master of the Campe *Julian Romero*, boarded each other: so did the Admirall of *Sirickesey*, and the Admirall *Benoyr* board each other, with no lesse courage; so did *Bemire*, *Boisets* Vice-admiral, board the Vice-admirall of *Sancio d' Auila*. Being in wonderfull hot fight a long time, the most part of the vessels, especially the Squadrons of *Julian & Boiset*, had bin on aboard each other neere two howers; the most part of which time they were at the push of the pike, and blowes of swords. *Boiset* and his fellowes were more expert seamen then the *Spanish* Commanders, and farre better furnished with all manner of prouisions that belong to a sea-fight; especially fireworkes: which they employed to the *Spaniards* great losse. So that *Julians* Alfere being aboard of *Boiset*, was blown v^p with powder; and with him threescore at the least of his brauest souldiers. And had they not done it at that instant, *Julian* himselfe had beene gone; for he was entring with the rest. The *Spaniards* were cruelly plagued in all quar-

Julian & Benoyr
aduance.

The ioyning of
the fight.

Boiset & Julian
boardeth each
other.

So *Benoyr & the*
Admirall of
Sirickesey.

The length of
the fight.

The *Nassari-*
ans better sea-
men then the
Spaniards.

Indian flyeth.

*And Sancio
d'Amila.*

*The Spaniards
lost.*

*The Nassawians
lost.*

ters, especially by reason *Sancio d'Amilaes* great vessels could not come to succour their fellows, among which he was in person; being a most valiant man, accompanied with a great number of their best souldiers. *Indian* perceiuing his fellows distressed without remedie, and himselfe most of all; with wonderfull hazard, he and diuers of his Gentlemen and souldiers did leape into their skuts, which carried them to the shoare where the *Commendador* stood; so did many others escape by the like meanes. Likewise diuers of their smallest vessels ranne themselves on the shoare where the *Commendador* stood; many were fast on the sands; diuers were burnt; the rest made all the sailes they could to recover the riuer of *Antwerpe*. Amongst these was *Sancio d'Amila*; notwithstanding he had grounded his own vessell, in seeking to come to fight. The *Nassawians* followed them into the riuer of *Antwerpe*, defeating and taking many as they ranne away. By the *Spaniards* owne reports, they lost in this battaile about three score saile of all sorts; forty seauen ensignes; about six hundred brasie pieces, of which about 200. were taken out of the Citadle of *Antwerpe*; slaine and taken about six thousand souldiers and mariners. Few were saved that came to their hands, but all or the most that were taken were slaine or drowned. Amongst many of their Commanders and men of good account, their Admirall *Beauoir* was slaine valiantly, at the push of pike: So was *Sancio Dauides* vice Admirall. The victorious escaped not leafe free. For their Admirall *Boisfer* lost his right eye with the blowe of a pike, the Admirall of *Holland* sore hurt with a shot in the thigh;

Bemyre,

Boenyre, *Boisets* vice Admirall was slaine, with many other of good make, besides at the least sixteene hundred souldiers and mariners. Thus was the battell of *Romers-wall* begunne and ended. Perhaps some will say, because there was no greater slaughter and confusion, it may not be tearmed worthy and comparable vnto diuers others. But in troth I heard diuers report, besides the Commendador, who had been at *Lapanta* and heer; that the fury there was nothing comparable vnto this; number to number. For my part, I neuer saw any thing so furious. I may well speake it, for there are some of good quality yet aliue, can testifie the same. But for *Julian Romero* himselfe, I had bin blown vp with his *Alfere*; yet I escaped with as great hazard as any other of his followers. But I will dispute against any souldier, that no fight hath been comparable vnto it by sea, these fise hundred yeares; sauing that before *Sluce*, fought by our famous King *Edward* the third, against the *French* King and the Earle of *Flanders*, and that of *Lapanta*.

The furie of
the fight.

FINIS.